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INDO-ARYAN THOUGHT AND CULTURE

AND THEIR BEARING

ON PRESENT DAY PROBLEMS IN INDIA

An Argument from the Standpoint of a Native of that Country

BY

PRABHAKER S. SHILOTRI, M. A.

*Sometime Fellow in Political Economy at
Columbia University*

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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PRABHAKER S. SHILOTRI, M. A.

The University
DEC 10 1918



In Gratitude

to

*Those who enabled me to enjoy a
prolonged University career*

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PREFACE

The aim of this study is not so much to bring to light new data as to interpret some commonplace facts from the history of Indo-Aryan culture, the full significance of which is not, in my judgment, properly appreciated nor made use of in dealing with the present day problems of India. The cause of some of India's most acute economic and political problems is to be found in the unique Indo-Aryan mental evolution, which has crystalized into an almost "fixed attitude" of the Indian social mind, and which supports some of her deep-rooted institutions. These institutions were formed long before foreigners exploited the country, and to the tyranny of these institutions the population still cheerfully submits, almost unconsciously, I maintain, in spite of the "new spirit" which is doing so much today for the regeneration of the country. What I mean by a "fixed attitude" of the Indian social mind and an unconscious homage to ruinous customs even on the part of the most educated amongst us, I shall try to make clear in the course of this study.

The lack of full appreciation of these simple facts has created, on the one hand, an unnecessary prejudice against an intelligent population, in consequence of which the British government has committed some serious administrative blunders. A failure, on the other hand, to reckon with these facts on the part of our own political and social leaders has led them into prisons or to the gallows.

I cannot subscribe to the attitude of the haughty English civilian and the Western scholar who, with an incomplete knowledge of ethnology, maintain that the dark skinned races of India are degenerate products of a tropical clime, unfit for prosperous economic institutions and incapable of constitutional self-government. Such an attitude is based upon the innate prejudice which the European has against the dark skinned races and tropical climes. It is based upon superficial knowledge of the stamina of a population acclimatized to hot regions, well qualified to exploit the natural resources of such places, and yet held in check by predominantly psychological factors. Such racial prejudice once extended to all Asiatic races, but Japan having redeemed the Mongolian race from the stigma, the calumny is now directed at India alone.

I believe that whatever may have been the influence of the geographic and racial factors in the past, in the problems of present reconstruction psychological and institutional factors predominate.

Nor can I subscribe to the enthusiastic claims of some of our leaders that they are the honorable descendants of the noble Aryan race—those who are most zealous in claiming such an affinity have in fact sometimes the least of that blood in them—representatives of a glorious civilization and in every way fit for Western democratic political institutions, capable of bringing about a quick economic regeneration of their country, but held in check by what they call the malignant influence of the British rule. While appreciating the disadvantages of a foreign rule, I must say that their claims are based upon illusions. In the first place there is hardly any element in India of the so-called pure Aryan blood—the entire population being a mixture of the Dravidian, the Mongolian and Aryan blood in all degrees, showing in its results an imperceptible gradation of color. But, as we shall later point out, the Indians are the better for this promiscuous mixture of races, and their freedom from color and race prejudice is one of the best economic assets for the future. In spite of this excellent racial composition of the population, well fitted, as it is, to exploit tropical economic resources, it is not fit today for the political goal it seeks nor the economic prosperity to which it aspires, because there has not as yet been born in that population that spirit which is absolutely the essential basis of a prosperous national life—a political and economic consciousness of kind. This racially mixed and more or less unified population of 300,000,000 people stands hopelessly differentiated into 3,000 or more small and large communities of interest, called castes, speaking over 150 languages or dialects, and having no common conscious political or economic interest.

Caste again is only a comprehensive name that includes the thousand and one customs and rules that have been such great obstacles to political and economic progress in India.

My aim is to trace the progress of the mental evolution that has given birth to that “fixed attitude” of the Indian social mind, which in turn supports a relentless tyranny of institutions. This condition has created in India some of the most difficult and unique problems for the people of that country. To it we owe the spectacle of a vigorous population, racially more or less

mixed, yet socially differentiated; of proved intelligence for political and military organization, yet subject to the rule of a handful of foreigners having their homes in a distant land; a people dwelling in the midst of vast natural resources yet proverbially poor and suffering from chronic famines; excelling in clear thinking, yet paying slavish homage to superstition and custom.

In the light of these remarkable results the literary documents of the Indo-Aryan civilization present unrivalled opportunities for a study of socio-economic causation, and happily in them we find a complete record of this unique process of mental evolution. To my knowledge, no attempt has thus far been made to use these data for such a purpose, for which in fact they are most valuable, apart from their linguistic, literary and religious merits which have been so zealously exploited.

My main thesis is that the abnormal mental evolution of the Indo-Aryan stock has been largely responsible for the chaotic political, social and economic conditions that we find in India as the curtain rises on her authentic political history. The factors of climatic environment and contact with the Dravidian races are important, I admit, but their evil influence has been over-estimated and benefits therefrom are generally overlooked. In my judgment, the most difficult task before the leaders of India today is to create forces in society that will disintegrate the present "fixed attitude" of the Indian social mind and enable them gradually to soften the rigid differences that exist between caste and caste, and create among the people of India a feeling of nationality that will be based not only upon a sense of common political and economic interests, but also upon a consanguineal consciousness of kind. This will mean that the difference of status between members of the so-called Aryan and the Dravidian castes will have to be gradually eliminated. That is, in the end we have to face the fusion of the Aryan and the Dravidian blood in India, which, it is believed, the caste system has so strenuously exerted itself to keep apart. Are we warranted in such a procedure? Yes. In the first place, if the caste system had as one of its missions the preservation of the purity of the Aryan blood, in that respect, it has been a failure, as we shall later point out. In the second place, the value of the Dravidian races in India is under-estimated. They possess many excellent qualities which the Aryans do not have. They are moreover a

race by no means widely separated from the Aryans, and in their history prior to the coming of the Aryans into India, they possess excellent credentials for their admission to equal status with the so-called Aryan castes.

My estimate of the Dravidian races, as the reader will notice, I have largely supported by Mr. Hewitt's researches. Mr. Hewitt had been a commissioner of Chutia Nagpur for many years. This district is one of the chief centres of the pure Dravidian population in India. Here he had, by personal contact, an opportunity to study the characteristics, qualities, traditions, and folk lore of these people. Mr. Hewitt was so much impressed by the stamina of these people that he went even so far as to maintain that the famous Bharata kings of India were of Dravidian descent. Mr. Hewitt further maintains that these people were of Semitic origin, who had invaded India from the northeast and had established large centralized kingdoms. He says that (true to their blood affiliations) these invaders were great merchant kings. In my own judgment also, an attempt to class all the pre-Aryan black aborigines of India into one race is to ignore the very marked differences of physiognomy that exist between the members of the Kolarian and the Dravidian tribes. I am not personally qualified to judge of the full value of Mr. Hewitt's researches, but I feel that the worth of the Dravidian races and the part they have played in the formation of Indian history, religion and mythology have been generally undervalued. In order to remove any misapprehension on the part of the reader as to my affiliation with the Dravidian race, I may state here that I belong to a Maratha caste which claims to be of pure Aryan Kshatriya origin, and as such I can have no personal interest in emphasizing the commendable qualities of the Dravidian race.

My emphasis on the evils of the "fixed attitude" of the Indian social mind and the stationary institutions of the country should not be misconstrued as implying that I advocate a promiscuous mixing of castes and races or any radical change in the existing social order. It would not prove advantageous—indeed it might be actually disastrous in its result—to shock the cherished sentiments and prejudices of the "mob mind" before the soil is prepared for the planting of the new seed. There are methods which I shall suggest by which the desired results can be gradually obtained without arousing unnecessary antagonism on the part of the people.

I shall consider these pages to have fulfilled their mission if they go even a little toward removing some of the innate prejudices of my countrymen, and if they produce on the part of the Western nations a somewhat more sympathetic and inquiring attitude towards the problems and people of India.

I wish to record here my indebtedness to my teachers in the Department of Economics and Sociology, whose courses it has been my privilege to attend, and from whose association I have derived much benefit. To a fellow student, Mrs. Alice S. Gitterman, M. A., I desire to express my sincere appreciation for her thorough revision of the proofs. My heaviest obligations are due to Professor Seager for his kind encouragement throughout, and to Professor Jackson, who, although I was not a pupil in any of his classes, made many very valuable suggestions and criticisms and gave me many evidences of his personal kindness. While acknowledging my indebtedness to each of these gentlemen I must add at the same time that they are to be relieved of responsibility for any particular view advanced, as the opinions and arguments are my own.

NEW YORK, March, 1913.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In giving my reasons for undertaking to write on so broad a theme, various phases of which have been dealt with by many excellent scholars, I must say at the outset that it is the product of an unpremeditated plan. I had occasion to go through the translations of some of the leading Sanskrit texts, and while I obtained no appreciable results for my original purpose in perusing them, I came across abundant evidence to confirm me in some of the views which I had been forming concerning the problems and people of India on the basis of my acquaintance with the actual conditions in that country and an immediate knowledge of the Indian psychology.

A quest for the root of the socio-economic problems of India is of most vital interest to us to-day, and I thought that an attempt on my part to offer even a slight clue towards their solution might be appreciated by my countrymen as a greater service than even very fruitful results in any other branch of research.

[Something is radically wrong in a country where hundreds of millions of people in a perpetual low standard of life succumb to a condition of chronic poverty, restless political discontent, and misery. Superficial analyses have simply resulted in remedial measures—while the fundamental conditions remain practically unchanged.] To put the blame on the tropical clime or the racial qualities of the population and declare the problem as insoluble and hopeless, is deliberately to shut our eyes to the history of the country and the native stamina of its people. It is a good working hypothesis for the British Government and for indifferent Westerners, but the people of India cannot be satisfied with such a summary dismissal of the case and must make an independent effort to solve the problem.

The gravity of a problem, however, or an interest in its solution, is no license for anyone to undertake its treatment.

I fully realize that many able scholars have worked on it, and after devoting years of research and reflection, confessed their inability to say a final word on the subject. Yet India is today passing through a period of mental transition and prepar-

ing for a mental crisis. The mind of the Indian youth now craves a consistent theory that will explain to him his situation and offer him a clue towards its solution. Just at such a period it is necessary that the intellectual leadership of that country shall fall into sane hands. Unfortunately, many Western and Eastern men of note and scholars of excellent repute are promulgating some not only erroneous but positively dangerous doctrines as to the potentialities and fate of India and her people. Victims to these doctrines, many of our excellent young men have gone to the gallows and others have fallen into a mood of pessimism, believing that things must remain as they are.

First: There is a class of men who ascribe famines and all other evils in India to what they call the malignant influence of the British rule. They insist that conditions will remain pretty much as they are so long as that obstacle remains in the way.

Second: There are those who maintain that tropical peoples and dark skinned races are incapable of maintaining a constitutional self-government and sound economic institutions, that is, in plain words: people of dark skin are destined to a dark fate—one of perpetual slavery to their masters from temperate zones. A certain scholar who has travelled all over the world and is reputed an authority on Eastern questions, in discoursing to his classes upon colonies and dependencies, showed for nearly an hour lantern slides displaying the half-fed and half-clothed inhabitants of India and the Malay Peninsula, and asked if such filthy-looking creatures could be worthy of the self-government, which their leaders seek for them. These are by no means false representations, but we shall later point out the dangers of generalizations about peoples and civilizations based upon such superficial observations.

Third: There is the pet doctrine of a defective ethnology which insists that race hybridization produces degenerate progeny, and maintains that the barrier between separate races must remain as a perpetual condition. In this connection it should be remembered that the major part of the population of India represents just such a hybrid product.

Fourth: We are told that the British government is doing much benevolent work in India, and that the people of that country are ungrateful malcontents and do not know what is

good for them, and cannot appreciate it when they get it. The people of India, it is maintained, have no grounds for complaint. The British government is the best government and the most efficient; as though the best ever must inevitably be the best forever. A scholar (and I may say he has his supporters) who has spent a considerable part of his life in studying the problems of India, points out that the people of that country today are much happier and economically more prosperous than they were under their native Rajas, who robbed and looted them under the pretext of collecting taxes. We shall later point out why this statement, which is partly incorrect, fails to prove the superior merit of the present administration as a desirable perpetual condition.

Since such are the attitudes toward the problems of India even of those from whom we should expect more balanced views, we cannot blame the zealous apostles of Christ who offer the gospel as a panacea for all the evils in India.

Under the seducing attractiveness of the four mischief-making doctrines above enumerated, our young men have been led into rash attempts or into the pessimistic belief that the tropic and sub-tropic regions are the graves of human energy and progress. We warn them to guard against such fascinating or pessimistic doctrines, and, keeping sober aims in view, to work steadily for the reconstruction of the country, which has the best of prospects in the future.

False pride, narrow-minded prejudices, and a spirit of revenge and ridicule are the results of a superficial study of the isolated chapters of a past period of human civilization. It is little wonder that an Englishman who reads of the Black Hole of Calcutta and the massacre of women and children by friends of Nanasahib, or a Westerner who only knows that the people of India are dark skinned, should come to that country with a contempt for the people, or that others, reading only of the philosophical doctrines of the people of India, should expect to find in all the Indians great philosophers. Neither is it surprising that an Indian youth, reading isolated chapters of Warren Hastings' administration, should be imbued with a spirit of revenge against Englishmen, irrespective of their motives and opinions.

Unfortunately, it is a defective system of education in which we are drilled at home. It trains our memory and teaches us

to perform some intellectual feats, but creates in us no inquiring and unbiased attitude towards our social, political, and economic problems. This neglect of the teaching of social sciences is largely responsible for the unsatisfactory intellectual leadership that we find in India today.

And as we leave our shores seeking for a better understanding of our problems and a more definite scheme for their solution, our ears are stunned with the noise about the clement spirit and the high standard of honor of the English. Here we are given an opposite swing to the pendulum of our theories. We are taught some perverted ethnological doctrines as to the dangers of race mixture and the advantages of race prejudices—doctrines based upon insufficient data for such sweeping generalizations as to the destiny of mankind. Yet I know of many victims of such mischief-making doctrines amongst us who advocate an accentuation of caste spirit, and others who have come to despair of the prospects of their country and the fate of their kindred.

It is to prevent the minds of our simple and inquiring youths from being polluted by such suicidal views and to remove at least some of the grosser prejudices of Western scholars as regards the peoples and problems of India, that I have undertaken such an ambitious task, with some diffidence as to my ability to discharge it successfully. I hope, however, that my presumption may be pardoned if I do not extend my ambition beyond merely presenting a point of view.

In the course of this essay I shall try to show to what extent the tropical climate of India brought about the degeneration of the Indo-Aryan stock; point out the worth of the Pre-Aryan races and civilization of India; give my reasons for declaring the present racially mixed composition of the population of India to be an economic advantage to the country; show the value of absence of color prejudice to the future regeneration of that country, and why I consider it would be a pity if from the contact with civilized Western nations we should breed in ourselves a contempt for the dark skin and the so-called lower races; that the problem of India hinges on the possibility of the disintegration of the present attitude of the Indian social mind, and of creating in its stead another social mind, possessing political and economic "consciousness of kind,"—that is to say, that it is a problem of psychogenesis primarily, whatever may have been

the influence of geographical and racial factors in times gone by. I shall point out the special advantages accruing from the British government in the direction of this psycho-disintegration which we so much desire, and also explain why in my judgment this government may perhaps stand as a serious obstacle to the further progress of a healthy growth of national economic life in India. My main task, however, will be to trace the growth of this peculiar attitude of the Indo-Aryan social mind which supports the apparent contrast and contradistinctions, the existence of the sublime and the ridiculous side by side in the life of the people of India.

Finally, I shall try to point out to my countrymen that the situation is such that we need be neither pessimistic nor over-optimistic as to the prospects of our country and the fate of our people, and that every Indian youth, if he cares to, can become an active force in building up his nation and serve his country even without sacrificing his business or domestic interests.

Very few people either in or out of India, except those who happen to have devoted special attention to the problem, have a clear idea of the complicated racial composition or the peculiar mental constitution of the population of that country. To the Westerners India has been a land of mystery, curiosity, contempt, or admiration, according to the particular phase of its civilization they happen to have studied or heard of. To the orthodox Indian mind she is the only holy spot on the face of the earth, possessing the only religion that gives salvation. Regions and peoples outside it are impious barbarians. If we take some of the most commonplace beliefs and facts about India and her people, we find in them a deep meaning for our purpose—for we shall soon realize that in an attempt to furnish a consistent explanation of these we are confronted with a laborious task.

What are some of these facts, then, that give us an inkling of her problems? The popular mind readily catches and stores whatever is generally most peculiar and offers vivid contrasts about a country and her people, and yet these very commonplace popular beliefs reveal on genetic analysis some important truths. The popular mind credits or discredits India with many contrasts, some of which are as follows: it is a country of wisdom and intellect, of whose people much has been heard, and yet we are told that they are heathens and victims of gross superstition,

practising idolatry and fetish worship. And the people claim the noble Aryans, a white Caucasian race, for their ancestors, yet the majority amongst them appears a half-clad, half-fed population, not at first glance differing much from the colored population of the United States, and in fact containing many racial and cultural elements even inferior to the lowest of negroes. Amidst the glittering glory of wealth and courtly pomp of thousands of native princes, who wear costly jewels and make such lovely scenery at Durbars, millions are held in the jaws of famine and have to be supported by contributions to the missionary funds. There is a fundamental psychological unity that supports the heterogeneous structure of the caste system. There are hundreds of millions of people representing strong and vigorous race elements, yet held in subjugation by a handful of foreigners.

These are some of the facts of commonplace knowledge which seem inexplicable to the Western mind. Many times during my stay in America have I been asked by sympathetic friends of India for an explanation of such astonishing anomalies. These contrasts and contradictions are facts, and an attempt on the part of some of our patriots either to deny or to defend them has led them into a ridiculous situation. I shall make no attempt either at refutation or removal of these beliefs, but hope to show that in a genetic study of these phenomena we find an explanation that renders these contrasts less astonishing and these apparent incompatibilities less baffling.

The people who are credited by some as being the earliest inhabitants of India are the Kols.¹ Their racial affinity is not well known. They are believed to belong to a branch of the Australian negroid type. They are jet black in color, have wooly hair and are animistic in belief. These people are said to have been the first in the world to take to a settled life. They built villages on their hunting grounds and made beginnings in agriculture. Their number must have been very small, perhaps only a few millions. As these people were developing their tribal politics, another race, supposedly of Turanian origin, came from the northeast, conquered and

¹J. F. Hewitt, *Primitive Traditional History*, Vol. I, p. 92 *et seq.* For an opposite view see Risley's *People of India*, p. 43 *et seq.* Mr. Risley places the entire aboriginal population of India into one main group which he calls Dravidian and gives them a negroid description of physique.

enslaved these people and established their supremacy.² These people are called the Dravidians—the true backbone of the population of India. They are of reddish black color, have smooth, straight hair, pointed noses, and in general physiognomy greatly resemble the so-called white races of Europe—except that their color is dark. It is believed that these were a brave and war-like people, possessed of great genius for political organization, and a native instinct for industrial development. They had established large kingdoms in India and had made considerable progress in agriculture, industry and commerce.³ Their number must have been very large, as they form the major⁴ part of the present population of India and their blood has filtered through almost all the racial stocks that later arrived in the country. From the standpoint of acclimatization and economic efficiency this is perhaps the best racial stock in India today.^{4a}

After them came the so-called Indo-Aryans, the most powerful and intelligent of all the races that went to India for permanent colonization. They were a Caucasian white race, believed to be descended from the same forefathers as those of the Germanic tribes of Europe and the Gauls of Scotland. It is immaterial whether or not we admit the close racial affinity of these people to the races of Western Europe; it is sufficient for our purpose that they were the most vigorous and intelligent element that entered the country, and by their unique civilization, which has now become known world-wide amongst scholars, profoundly affected the entire course of future events in India and decided her political and economic fate. Yet these people were also only a few millions in number. It is they who started the caste system in India, originally to preserve and perpetuate the purity of their blood as well as the sanctity of their spiritual status from the surrounding black ocean of irreligious people in which they found themselves situate. But their most rigorous caste sys-

²*Ibid.*, p. 235 *et seq.* Mr. Hewitt believes these Turanian people are of Semitic origin. See also, his *Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times*, p. 61 *et seq.*

³Hewitt's *Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times*, p. 105. Also *Prim. Trad. His.*, pp. 885 *et seq.* Also see reference in note above.

⁴See statistics of castes given in Mr. Risley's *Ethnological Appendix to Vol. I of the Census of India for 1901*, and compare the numerical strength of the dominantly Aryan and the dominantly Dravidian castes.

^{4a}Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the racial affinity of the Dravidians, Mr. Risley, Mr. Hewitt and Mr. Elphinstone all agree as to their industrial efficiency in a warm climate. See Elphinstone's *History of India*, 9th ed., p. 215, and Risley, *People of India*, p. 43.

tem and religious and race prejudices failed to keep their blood from assimilation with their neighbors, and thus today we find a very small element of predominantly Aryan white blood in India.

After many centuries of tranquillity during which the Indo-Aryans were accomplishing their mental evolution and crystallizing it into their institutions, came successive waves of the Greeks, the White Huns, the Mongolians, the Semitic Arabs, the Mohammedans, the Negroes from Africa, and the Jews from Palestine and Asia Minor. Some of these like the Scythians and the Greeks, adopted the Indo-Aryan creeds and institutions, while others, like the Mohammedans, imposed their creed on a portion of the existing population. All of them, however, became inevitably mixed in race and culture, and all in time submitted to the powerful influence of Indo-Aryan culture and customs. It is interesting to note that among many other things we find this peculiar fact, that under the influence of Indo-Aryan culture even the Mohammedans, the Christians, and the Jews in India have learned to follow indirectly some form of a caste system.

Thus we see that the population of India consists of a vast conglomeration of many race elements, which, though racially mixed, have been split up into thousands of small and large communities of interest, some of them racially purer than others. We find that the Turanian Dravidian people, a reddish-black race of Caucasian appearance and physiognomy, constitutes the major part of the Indian population, and from the point of view of their economic contribution and the numerical majority the country may properly be said to belong to them. In the north-west of India we find the center of the predominantly white Indo-Aryan blood, and as we go farther from that point towards east and south, we come across various degrees of mixed Aryan and Dravidian blood, until towards the farthest east and in almost the whole of the south below the Vindhya mountains we find a predominantly black Dravidian population, in the northeast somewhat intermingled with the Mongolian blood.² Of course, there are exceptions to this general rule, as there are later immigrants who have settled south and east and show the predominantly white blood of the Greek or Scythian invaders with whom their affinity is recognized.

²Baine's *Ethnology* (in Bühler's *Grundriss*) p. 15. Also the map showing race distribution in India attached to Mr. Risley's Appendix referred to above.

It is these basic facts of pseudo-heterogeneity of racial composition and the multiplicity of the rigidly close communities of interest called castes, a unique product of Indian psychology, that have accentuated the influence of such secondary factors as the religious and linguistic differences and impaired the politico-economic structure of society to such an extent as to present an insuperable obstacle to rapid political and economic progress—and the most daring reformer in India stands aghast before the power of these factors.

I cannot here recount the innumerable secondary problems of India, but let the reader imagine a country two-fifths as large as the United States, containing a population of 300,000,000 people divided into over 3,000 castes, speaking more than 150 dialects, professing countless creeds, ruled by superstitious customs and under the tutelage of thousands of princes or heads of small and large estates. Embracing some race elements equal to any of the progressive and prosperous peoples of Western Europe, the country failed to build an economically sound civilization, failed to assimilate the fresh supplies of blood that came in, failed to eliminate linguistic and religious differences and consolidate political organization: in short, these heterogeneous elements failed to merge into one "people." Even today there is no "people" in India, in the political sense of that word. Yes, there are priests and princes and rulers and heads of castes and corporations and clerks, but there is no "people" in the sense in which that term is understood in Western countries. How did this come about, and how can such a condition be ameliorated? To find a clue to the reply is the aim of this study.

If we must fix the blame on someone for creating such conditions in India, we can lay it especially on those immigrants who came there about 2500 B. C., and called themselves Aryans, distant kinsmen of the Germanic tribes of Europe. But we can hardly place the responsibility on these people. Their own thinking and actions were conditioned by factors which were beyond their control. At any rate, these are the people whose history, beliefs, and institutions supply the most important genetic clue to the problems of India. But for the coming of these people to India the history of that country would have been today either a relatively blank page or would have contained a list of kingdoms and dynasties to match those of the Chinese

and Ottoman Empires. Prior to the coming of the Indo-Aryans, political events in India, it is believed, were shaping themselves along the normal lines. We find the powerful Dravidian kingdoms organized and maintained on an efficient political basis, the population classified into three main divisions on a strict precedence of wealth and political power—the nobility, gentry, and slaves to correspond to the English earl, thane and ceorl, the Roman patrician, plebian and slave.⁶ The Dravidian freeman of the village community had become subject to the manorial lord and the manorial lord paid homage to the central control. Political organization was gradually consolidating and economic progress was slowly making headway, and one notes with intense interest the parallel between the politico-economic developments in feudal Europe and those in India at this period. It seems that at a given stage of evolution human nature unfolds itself in a precisely similar fashion under identical conditions. But all this until the Aryans came on the scene, and now we find that the feudal lordships stayed where they were and failed to disintegrate and make room for the people, for the people did not care and the people as a body politic was no more.

The Indo-Aryans themselves sincerely believed and told these distinguished predecessors of theirs that they were engaged in a wild goose chase;⁷ that the ambition to accumulate riches and build empires was unworthy, because it never ends, and because, moreover, riches and empires belong to this world and remain here, from which after a temporary sojourn, the human soul must depart. Therefore, they advised them to go after permanent values that appertain to the soul and bring eternal bliss. Such was the sincerity of their attitude in this matter, the reality of their belief, the attractiveness of their philosophy, the subtlety of their intellect, and the plasticity of their teachings that they readily enlisted to their standard that vast population including the most powerful princes and the poorest beggars; and the king as well as the beggar were now alike zealously devoted to making accumulations for the hereafter. A vast population was, so to say, hypnotized. The complex

⁶Hewitt's Primitive Traditional History, chap. IV, Sec. K, pp. 410-445. Sec. on the comparison of the Indian and the European Monarchical Institutions and Land Tenure.

⁷This is my inference. For influence of the Aryans as teachers of the Dravidian princes see Ruling Races, etc., p. 111 *et seq.*

machinery for manufacturing these spiritual products was now set in motion, the elaborate sacrifices and ceremonies costing many princes their fortunes, the caste system bringing many millions to their ruin, the various cults and austere practices, the minute regulation of everyday life activities by the sacred law—all these were at first intended to facilitate the accumulation of spiritual merits and to open the path upwards to a higher birth, to a better world with less misery, and, finally, to that stage of complete absorption into the universal soul which gives freedom from birth, death, sickness, and from all the misery and trouble that go with life and living. For over twenty centuries this charm worked on the popular mind undisturbed by outside influences, and so deeply were the people hypnotized by the fascinating ideals that when the shock came from the outside world it was too late to waken them from the power of this sweet slumber. The mould was cast and hardened and it was in vain that Buddha, Chandragupta, Asoka, Vikramaditya, even an Akbar, a Shivaji, and a Madhji Scindya tried to give new impressions and stamp to the original setting; and the British government and the Indian reformers of today well know the burden of their problem. It is through the Indo-Aryans then that the political and economic fate of India was sealed. But can they at least tell us why they did so or how they achieved these remarkable results? Yes, for this purpose they have left us a most valuable legacy, perhaps as though to justify and acquit themselves before the great tribunal of humanity. We shall now examine the character of this evidence.

The British conquered not only the land and the people of India, but their versatile genius and all inquiring spirit sent forth their rays into all the dismal corners of the country, which were closed even to her own sons by almost impassable barriers set by the Brahmanical law. Not many years had elapsed since their first tiny territorial acquisition in that land, when scholars like Wilkins and Jones began their labors in the field of Sanskrit literature, and sent forth messages to the Western world that they had discovered the existence of another world of thought and spirit, entirely unique in its character and without parallel elsewhere. Colebrooke and Wilson by their further studies confirmed this news. Then came the great French scholar Burnouf, who by his comparative method

and organizing genius disclosed for the first time the true worth of the Vedic discovery and gave a tremendous impetus to Sanskrit research, and it was not wasted as was proved by the labors of his pupils, Max Müller and Roth, who later became famous Vedic scholars and pushed still further the work of their predecessors.

It is not my aim here to give a sketch⁸ of the history of the progress of Sanskrit research, but I may emphasize its importance by pointing to the rapidity of its exploitation. Such was the fervor with which these studies were prosecuted that within the short space of only half a century the entire field of Sanskrit literature was organized and systematized, and in spite of the fact that there are thousands of manuscripts yet unedited and probably many more yet undiscovered, there is scarcely a known document of importance that has not been translated or edited and made accessible to the student. Even the earliest labors in Sanskrit research did not remain unappreciated. Sentiments in "Sakuntala" enraptured as enlightened a soul as that of Goethe and the Upanishads solaced as stern and wilful a spirit as that of Schopenhauer. The discovery was not, however, allowed to remain a mere literary curiosity. A closer study of Sanskrit at once disclosed that it was a language⁹ "unparalleled among its cognates in antiquity and distinctness of structure, yet revealing many points of resemblance with the substratum of the European languages". Sir William Jones as early as 1786 declared it to be a language of wonderful structure; "more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity both in the roots and verbs and the forms of grammar than could have been produced by accident, and he hinted at a common source of all these languages". This suggestion was developed into a valid scientific theory by the German scholar, Franz Bopp, who led in the foundation of the study of scientific and comparative philology. By a series of further studies by other scholars the mutual relationship of the individual members of the entire group of Indo-European languages was made clear. For a time these findings in linguistic

⁸For a sketch of the progress of Sanskrit research see A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, chap. I. Also Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Kultur*; Erste Vorlesung.

⁹*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XIV, 11th ed.; article on Indo-European languages.

affinity were, in the enthusiasm of the discovery, misinterpreted, and on the basis of linguistic affinity the dark skinned Bengali and Madras and the blue-eyed Teuton were declared to be of the same race. So complete was the illusion for a time that even as scrutinizing a mind as that of Sir Walter Bagehot wonders why the Bengalis,¹⁰ who belong to the Aryan race, are found to be incapable of maintaining self-government and building up progressive and democratic institutions. These illusions were soon dispelled by light from ethnological researches. As early as 1864 the great ethnologist Broca emphasized the fact that race and language were not necessarily identical and that an affinity of language of the two peoples was not in itself a guarantee of their racial affinity.

A close study of Vedic literature revealed the fact that it presented a vivid picture of the working of the primitive human mind at a certain stage of its religious development, and thereupon Kuhn and Max Müller established a science of comparative mythology.¹¹ As research progressed farther in Sanskrit philosophical documents, they proved to be an excellent field for the study of the evolution of the Indian mind from its stage of the early simple Vedic beliefs to the period which produced the most acute metaphysical speculations. It was unanimously noted that the later developments in these various branches of Sanskrit culture were entirely original and unique and this fact has been explained as a result of exclusion from the outside world and a consequent one-sided development of thought for a period of over twenty centuries.¹²

While the linguistic, religious and philosophical merits of Sanskrit literature were thus duly appreciated and eagerly exploited, its historical merits for a study of social economic causation remain practically unrecognized. For beyond a few commonplace observations regarding the influence of the Indian climate on the energy of the Aryan stock there seems to have been little effort on the part of scholars to use these researches for a more thorough genetic analysis of the present-day complications in India. Yet for just such a purpose the Sanskrit litera-

¹⁰Sir Walter Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, chap. III, p. 182.

¹¹Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 6.

¹²Even the most conservative estimates locate the period of Indo-Aryan invasion as early as about 1200 B. C. and the first Mohammedan conquest of epoch making importance entered India from the north in the 11th century A. D.

ture affords a wealth of material which, if correctly interpreted, throws a singular light on the mental evolution of the Indo-Aryans and supplies at the same time a valuable clue to the solution of some of India's most difficult economic and political problems. (It tells us why the Aryans when they first went to India wanted wealth, progeny, and prosperity and why they despised the same in their later programs for life achievements. It gives us a better understanding of some of those most unique products of the Indian psychology, such as the ceremonial, the caste system, asceticism, eroticism, and the existence of gross superstition that we find in India today. It shows us how the economic life of the people which at first formed a powerful upper current was finally, under the influence of Indo-Aryan thought, reduced to a mere under current, bringing about the economic and political decay of Indian society. For a genetic study of this type the literary documents of Sanskrit culture owing to their completeness and unique character remain unrivalled. With the help of these we shall now study how the racial conglomeration, social differentiation and fixed psychic constitution, observable among the people of India, were formed.

CHAPTER II

THE ULTIMATE PHYSICAL DETERMINANTS OF INDO-ARYAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

We shall do well to start with an attempt to familiarize ourselves with the early life history of the Aryans, in whose culture and institutions we expect to find an explanation of the present-day conditions in India and a clue to their solution. But if we are too inquisitive and go too far back, we are likely to come out disappointed, for in spite of the most persistent researches of many able European scholars, practically nothing is yet definitely known of the original home of the so-called Aryan family, from whom the Germans, the Greeks, the Romans, Slavs, Persians, and the Sanskrit people are supposed to have originated. For some time in the early stages of Indo-European philological research scholars had located the home of the remote ancestors of all these people in central Asia near the river Oxus. This opinion held sway completely until there came others who claimed some place in Europe as the seat of the first Aryan home. More recently Otto Schrader places it in the steppes of southern Russia,¹ on the theory that the more definitely located centers of Aryan stock in the east and west tend to point out that region as the meeting point. In short, we have not sufficient data to come to any definite conclusion in this matter.

Of the racial type of this supposed original stock we also know very little. Its members have been described as having been of tall stature, blonde hair, blue eyes and in almost all respects possessing the bodily type of the Germanic tribes of Europe as described by Tacitus in his "Germania." But there has been a great controversy as to whether the differentiation in the physical type of the Aryan race as we find it later came about after their dispersal from their original home or existed even when they lived together. Some maintain that the original group must have occupied a wide region, as it takes many square miles per head to support human life at the hunting stage of civilization; and at this time it may have been that the various physical types, rep-

¹Otto Schrader's "Sprachvergleichung," latest edition, 1906. Here we find a thorough discussion of the original home and culture of the so-called Aryan races. He presents a critical survey of the past and contemporary writings on the subject and gives an exhaustive bibliography.

resented by blonde and brunette hair and brachio- and dolichocephalic skulls and different colors of eye pigment already differentiated, may have lived together under the influence of a common culture and uniform institutions.

Notwithstanding all these hypotheses we are unable to do more than maintain that they were a people belonging to the Caucasian white race in the present sense of that term, and that perhaps the stock that came towards India resembled in physical appearance the Germanic tribes of Europe.

The glowing pictures of their home life and culture that have been drawn by M. Pictet and others have also been rejected, and now our actual knowledge as to their social and economic condition is confined to a few meagre statements. We have overwhelming proof, however, of the remote cultural and racial affinity between the branches of the Indo-Aryans that came to India and those that went westwards to the Graeco-Italian Peninsula and northward to Germany. We grant then to the Aryans who came to India a physical and cultural equipment similar to that of the western races of Europe who are now marching under the banner of progress and enjoying economic prosperity.

In the words of Dr. Oldenberg:²

Die arischen Einwanderer in Indien nahmen, indem sie sich von ihren Brudervölkern trennten, doch die Spuren, und mehr als blossen Spuren, der einstigen Gemeinsamkeit in die neue Heimat mit hinüber. Bei ihren Opfern wurden Lieder gesungen, deren Sprache der Sprache Homers und des Ulfilas nah verwandt war. Diese Lieder feierten Götter wie das reisige himmlische Zwillingsspaar, wahrscheinlich die Dioskuren der Griechen, oder den starken Riesen, welcher den Donnerkeil schwingt, wohl den Donar-Thor der Germanen. *Ueberall waren Keime vorhanden, aus denen, wenn ähnliche Luft und Sonne sie zur Entwicklung gebracht hätte, Formen von Glauben und Poesie, von Sitte und Recht hätten hervorgehen können, die sich den Denk- und Lebensformen jener Nationen, der Trägerinnen höchster europäischer Kultur, gleichartig und gleichwertig an die Seite gestellt hätten.*

In Wahrheit ist es anders gekommen, musste es anders kommen. Die nach Westen weisenden Kräfte und Charakterzüge des indischen Volks mussten in der Abgeschnittenheit vom frischen Leben des Westens rettungslos erschlaffen, in der müden Stille, unter dem glühenden Himmel der neuen Heimat, in der langsamen aber unausbleiblichen Vermischung mit den dunkelfarbigen Urbewohnern. Ein neues Volk, ein neuer Volkscharakter musste sich bilden, der Charakter, welcher daraus hervorging, dass der alten hohen intellektuellen Begabung der reichen Phantasie der indischen Arier das Gegengewicht gesunder

²Die Literatur des Alten Indien, p. 2.

Tatkraft entzogen ward. Auf allen Gebieten des geistigen Daseins gewann dieser Charakter die Herrschaft. Im öffentlichen Leben trat statt der plastischen Gebilde von Staatsformen, welche die nationalen Kräfte zugleich zu entfesseln und zusammenzuhalten vermoeht hätten, die unplastische Formlosigkeit des Despotismus und der Kaste mit ihrer dumpfen Atmosphäre von Zwang und Aberglauben in den Vordergrund. Auf sittlichem und religiösem Gebiet ein Hinundherschwanken zwischen Extremen der Sinnlichkeit und der Entsagung, zwischen ekstatisch überspannter Selbstvergötterung und Verzweiflung an allem Dasein. In der Wissenschaft ein Aufbauen spitzfindiger Systeme, manch glänzender Gedanke, der doch unter dem Wust willkürlicher, alle Realität aus den Augen verlierender Spielereien mit überkünstlichen Begriffen und leeren Worten verschüttet wurde. In der Dichtung viel sinnige Zartheit, die Pracht bunter und glühender Farben, aber auch hier jener selbe Mangel an Mass und plastischer Form, jene selbe Künstlichkeit, jenes Spielen mit einem immer übertriebener zugespitzten Raffinement der Gedanken und Worte.

The vigorous seed was there, but failed to develop into a full grown tree of healthy growth. It produced profuse foliage on some of its branches and abundant blossoms on others and allowed still others to decay. Dr. Oldenberg along with many Indo-Aryan scholars finds the chief explanation of these facts in some well-known factors such as climate, race mixture, etc. We shall point out that in order fully to account for all the peculiarities of Indo-Aryan institutions we shall have to give credit to many other important factors not before well recognized.

A greater part of the achievements of man of which he is so proud or his failures of which he feels so ashamed is often the result of certain "conjunctures" or accidents (as we may call them) in the course of his life history in the widest sense of that term, including the incident of his heredity. This is even more so when that achievement or failure becomes the lot of a whole society or community. Many such "conjunctures," as we shall presently see, occurred in the life history of the Indo-Aryans after they arrived in India, and so many of them that we should not blame those people if we find a fatalistic attitude in their philosophy. In this chapter I shall mention some of the more important of these "conjunctures" and indicate their significance in shaping the course of the future life history of the Indo-Aryans and those that have come under the influence of their thought. Some of these significant incidents are as follows:

1. The point at which the Aryans entered India was especially favorable and the consequences of such an incident were far reaching.

2. These vigorous and warlike people, used to a hard struggle for livelihood on their advance towards the Gangetic Valley, came into sudden possession of surplus energy due to the bounty of nature, influence over their rich predecessors and "easy conditions of life."

3. Atmospheric and climatic conditions. Degeneration and disappearance of the dominant type. Development of abnormal psychological tendencies.

4. Influence of the surrounding Dravidian races and culture. Caste system and race mixture.

5. Isolation: they were excluded from contact with the outside world for twenty centuries or more and the direction of their thoughts, which was the result of an accident, became accentuated and confirmed.

These five factors we may now take up for a more detailed discussion, in the order named above.

1. The favorable point of entry: The geographical conditions disclosed by the Rig Vedic hymns tell us that the Aryans after they crossed the Hindukush mountains found themselves first in Panjab. This was a lucky incident, for the people with whom they first came into contact were not the most civilized and powerful of their predecessors in India. Here was a population represented by the timid, wild Kol tribes, whom the more civilized Dravidians had already ousted³ from their stronghold in the northeast and forced to seek resort in the less favorable regions of Panjab. It was no wonder, therefore, that the Aryans made a clean sweep of the Dasyus before them. These are the "speechless niggards," the "impious cannibals" and the "black-skinned devils" of whom they tell us in the Rig Veda.^{3a} Certainly this is not the description of the more civilized⁴ Dravidians whom they came across later.

Fortunately or unfortunately for the Aryans the center of the Dravidian power lay in the northeast, in the localities of the present provinces of Orissa and Chutia Nagpur.⁵ Had the Aryans happened to be trying to get into India from this direc-

³Prim. Trad. Hist., chap. 3, Sec. H, pp. 218-40, on Pre-Vedic Migrations into India.

^{3a}R. C. Dutt, History of Civilization in Ancient India, 1st ed., 1889, chap. IV, pp. 75-90.

⁴Ruling Races, p. 310.

⁵Prim. Trad. Hist., Vol. I, p. 410 *et seq.*

tion, the Vedic hymns would have been written in a different vein and the contempt for the "black-skinned devil" would not have been so unqualified. It was the same luck that the British people had in getting an entry into India through the already emasculated Bengal.

This triumphant entry into the new country not only gave them a basis for their future operations, but led them to a stronger belief in the efficacy of their sacrificial rites, which generally preceded their attacks on their enemies and in which the assistance of Indra, Agni, and the Maruts, etc., was invoked. This accidental coincidence of the apparent causal relations of sacrifice to success at once brought a high prestige both to the sacrifice and the sacrificer. The influence of such a lucky accident in creating strange causal beliefs and superstitions in primitive minds, has been well recognized by interpreters of history.

2. Sudden possession of surplus energy, a condition of civilization as well as of degeneracy: "Madhyadesha," or "midland"⁶ between the east and the west, is credited as being the chief seat of the Brahmanical culture. What is the significance of this fact? So long as the Aryans were in Panjab their struggle for livelihood was not very different from what they had been accustomed to in their former home in Iran. The topography and the climatic conditions⁷ made it necessary for them to keep moving in order to gain subsistence. However, as they advanced eastward and brought under their influence the prosperous Dravidians⁸ and their fertile territories, in conjunction with the easier life conditions, they found themselves in sudden possession of enormous surplus energy. The Aryans were a strong and energetic people, their bodies representing highly developed physiological apparatus, holding in reserve a plentiful energy that was kept alive by constant application in gaining their livelihood and struggling against their environment. Under their new life conditions systematic gaining of livelihood was a matter of no consequence, as it required little effort on their part. Thus a vast amount of surplus energy was liberated from its original use and for this they had to find a new outlet. Leisure creates culture as well as induces degeneracy according to the use to which it is put

⁶Macdonell, p. 213 *et seq.* Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 38.

⁷Zimmer, p. 40. Also, Lassen, *Christian—Indische Altertumskunde*, I, 247 *et seq.*, 2nd ed.

⁸Ruling Races, Essay II, pp. 101-121. Also p. 61 *et seq.*

and the environmental condition of its possessors. The surplus energy of the early settlers of the United States has given birth to one of the most prosperous of economic civilizations. The Romans once used surplus energy to play the parts described in "Quo Vadis." Here then we find conditions that made possible the evolution of the Indo-Aryan culture as well as the voluptuous and erotic tendencies of the Sanskrit folk which show themselves so prominently in the spirit of some of their literary productions.

3. Does the geographical environment determine the extent of the progress and the character of the culture of a community? There are some who make man a slave of nature and there are others who warn us not to interpret cultures and civilizations in terms of the bounty of nature, majesty of the skies and grandeur of the landscape. They consider the views of men like Montesquieu, Ratzel, Bullock, etc., as exaggerated and suggest predominantly psychological factors as causal determinants of progress. The truth seems to lie somewhere between these two extremes and Professor Giddings has well expressed it in his "Principles of Sociology,"⁹ where he maintains that while the volitional factors play a prominent rôle in social causation, the ultimate limits of the extent of that process are dependent upon processes of the physical and organized world. But it helps us little to know that man has a range of choice between certain limits and that beyond these limits his powers fail. Far more important for our purpose is the fact that in the struggle between volition and the influence of environment man is, in time, not a constant but a variable factor, and any generalization as regards the relation of man to his environment, if made to hold true without regard to time and a particular period of humanity, is likely to be too rigid to fit the actual facts or too loose to be of any practical value in a study of social economic causation. In applying analogies of the physical world to the laws of social progress a mistake is made in counting upon time as an independent variable in respect to man. This error has led some scholars to absurd conclusions as regards the destiny of some races of mankind. As time goes on, man as a factor in social evolution is constantly changing, and to what extent this change will qualify him in the future to resist the baleful influences of environment that have once compelled his homage we should not be too hasty to predict.

⁹Principles of Sociology, p. 416.

If the tropics have been in times gone by the grave of human energy and progress, they may fail to repeat identical results in the future, for time is constantly changing man, and man unlike an inorganic body cannot be exactly duplicated so that the experiment may be repeated under identical conditions at different periods of time. The response of an inorganic element under identical experimental conditions can be counted upon with certainty and predicted with precision. In the case of man such a response may vary—especially after the lapse of ages. The failure of scientists to recognize time as a variable not independent in respect to man is well emphasized by Professor Bergson in his "Creative Evolution".¹⁰

Thus, while we cannot lay down very definitely what will happen to mankind or to a particular race in the future, under conditions that change environment, we can state somewhat more definitely what has happened to them in the past and estimate the effect of their behavior as a factor in the process of progressive causation. Even a superficial study of the history of mankind convinces us that in the past human societies in the different regions of the world have been profoundly influenced by the nature of their geographical environment. The Indo-Aryans present a most remarkable case in point. The spirit of the early Rig Vedic verses is too obvious to be mistaken. In these verses we find the active Aryans eager to exterminate their enemies and obtain wealth, progeny and prosperity. Life and the things of life were now to them a joy. Compare such a spirit with that of the quiescent and ascetic Sanskrit philosophy and especially that of Buddhism where life is looked upon as a source of constant misery and living a necessary evil. Mr. Schroeder well expresses the contrast in the following lines:¹¹

Charakteristisch ist diesen Hymnen Kraft, Frische und Ursprünglichkeit der Empfindung, gegenüber der in der späteren Poesie sich findenden Zartheit, ja Weichlichkeit und Ueppigkeit; desgleichen Einfachheit und Gesundheit der Anschauungen und nicht selten eine gewisse Naïvität der Gedanken und Bilder, gegenüber später sich findenden Uebertreibungen, Maasslosigkeiten, ja Ungeheuerlichkeiten. Von den später so deutlich hervortretenden romantischen Eigenschaften ist im Rigveda gar nichts zu finden, weder nach der guten, noch nach der schlimmen Seite. Kraftvolle poetische Schilderungen der Natur, die sich bis zu kühnem Schwung erheben, treten uns hier entgegen. Wie die Culturstufe des Rigveda uns an die Schilderung der Germanen bei Tacitus erinnert, so hat auch die

¹⁰Especially chapters I and IV.

¹¹Indiens Literatur und Kultur, p. 46.

Poesie des Rigveda eine gewisse Wahlverwandschaft mit der altgermanischen Poesie. Es ist ein kühner, kraftvoller, streitbarer Geist, der in diesen Hymnen lebt, noch ungebrochen durch die später erst entstehenden priesterlichen Satzungen. Mit freudiger Lust klammert sich der Inder des Rigveda an das frische, blühende Leben. *Er will leben*, will reichen, tüchtigen Besitz, streitbare Söhne haben und hundert Winter fröhlich und gesund schauen. Seinen Göttern will er gern und freudig dienen, sie sollen ihm dafür aber auch helfen, hier glücklich und reich zu leben und dereinst in die seligen Gefilde Yama's einzugehen.

What can have brought about the change that we observe in the Brahmanical philosophy of life? Undoubtedly, the climate has indirectly played a prominent rôle in determining the nature of Indo-Aryan culture. Almost every prominent scholar of Indian history has mentioned this fact. It is pointed out that the energetic Aryans, Arabs, and Greeks, who went there, under the malignant influence of that climate degenerated and fell a prey to their successors, and it is maintained that the British people hold their sway in India only by reason of their not being permanently domiciled in that country.

From our point of view, important as the climatic factor has been in the history of Indo-Aryan civilization, its *modus operandi* has been heretofore misunderstood, and hence its evil effects overestimated and its favorable influence underestimated. In a good many parts of India the summer climate is not any more oppressive or severe than the hot July and August days in New York State. The winters, though they do not bring snow, are chilly and brisk. We must also remember that the same climate has produced such energetic men as Chandragupta, Asoka, Shivaji and Madhji-Scindya and others when the occasion required them and the social environment permitted the assertion of such personalities. Moreover, it was under the influence of this climate that the Aryan intellect blossomed and bore its fruit in Indian philosophy and Indian wisdom, which in time will be better appreciated and more fully recognized by the Western world even than it has been so far. I am not writing all this in order merely to indulge in the praise of the past glories of India. I only wish to remove the impression that the climate of India as a genetic factor is bound to remain, as some maintain, a permanent obstacle to the future progress of that country.

From the cold climate of their original home in Iran to the stifling heat of the midland and the Gangetic Valley, was a radical change in their environment to which even the sturdy Aryans

could not help being susceptible. They frequently tell us in Rig Veda that they find the summer heat very oppressive. Yet in the bounty of nature, the good will of the prosperous Dravidians and the easy conditions of life they had too many advantages to think of abandoning their new home. So for good or ill they accepted the conditions as they were and adopted that country as their permanent place of residence.

My hypothesis as to the manner in which the climate worked on the physiological apparatus of the Aryans is somewhat different from that usually accepted and has two aspects. One finds ample evidence, I think, in Sanskrit literature to distinguish two diametrically opposite tendencies on the part of these people—under the influence of the climate—one to physiological degeneracy and eroticism and the other to abnormal psychological developments culminating in asceticism. The extent of erotic literature¹² in the Sanskrit language gives us a good idea of the enervating effects of the Indian climate on the Indo-Aryan stock and the accounts in the Itihasa writings of the hundreds of voluptuous men and women of India confirm the actual existence of this evil to a large extent. This tendency, however, affected only the less vital type of the community which succumbed eventually to impotence or consumption and was thus self-eliminated.

The other tendency—that to overcontemplation and asceticism—affected only the very dominant type. It was the most ambitious men of the community who laid out for themselves the difficult programs of concentration, spiritual communion, and exclusion from the worldly life. This ascetic tendency acted itself as a process of elimination. To live the life of Brahmacharya (celibacy) was an ambition which only the most self-controlled type of men could achieve. Manu tells us that thousands of Brahmans wishing to live this exalted life went to heaven without leaving any progeny¹³ and even in his own time the illustrious Rishis of radiant power who could transgress laws with impunity were no more in existence and the people had to live more ordinary lives keeping themselves within the boundaries of caste duties.

¹²See Richard Schmidt's *Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik*, Berlin, 1911. Mr. Schmidt attributes the erotic character of Sanskrit people partly to their reflective tendencies. In my judgment both the eroticism and the reflective tendencies were results of a common cause—the climate.

¹³Manu, V, 159.

The disappearance of these two types—the erotic weaklings and the dominant psychopaths—need be no cause of regret to any descendants of that race and inheritors of their culture. The Aryan of the average type was in the meanwhile becoming gradually acclimatized and racially mixed with the surrounding Dravidian, forming as a result a population superior to both the parent stocks from the point of view of its efficiency for exploiting the economic resources of warm regions. Had it not been for the legacy of a perverted social mind from the extinct dominant type India today would be a very prosperous country and politically independent. But the social mind of the population of India paid homage to the teachings of these dominant men and followed them and are following them long after they have passed away. It is in this legacy of abnormal psychology and not in the physiological degeneracy that we find a true explanation of the political and economic stagnation of the people of India. What was the nature of these psychological tendencies we shall presently see. It is sufficient to say here that they diverted the attention of the people from the tangible pursuits of economic and political life to the intangible goals of eternal bliss and salvation.

4. Under the influence of this changed attitude of life the severity of their hatred of the aboriginal races was mitigated. Moreover, the Dravidians, whom they now confronted in the midland and the Gangetic Valley, were far superior both in physique and culture to the “speechless niggards” whom they had met first on their arrival in Panjab. The shrewd Aryan was well aware of the numerical superiority of the Dravidians as well as of their military efficiency. This was a population they could neither enslave nor exterminate. The vastness of the area, furthermore, made it possible that both the races could live together side by side without constant warfare. Under the influence of these various circumstances the Aryans used the strategy of enlisting the Dravidians under their religious standards. By force of their arguments and the show of their ceremonies they easily succeeded in making obedient to their will the vast ocean of the surrounding black population. But granting them their religion they had to grant them at least some of the social privileges that went with it. Thus there had to be effected a process of readjustment of social relations between the two races, and it is chiefly in this process

of spiritual recognition of the various Dravidian communities in different degrees that we find the true genesis of the caste system. The many hundreds of castes do not represent race hybridization and degrees of race mixture as has been conceived by many, but they are based upon spiritual differentiation, and it is only so far as race quality elevated the spiritual standing or as race mixture lowered it, that race distinction played any part in creating and perpetuating the caste system in India.

5. Isolation: Powerful as the climatic factor has been, its effect would not have been so accentuated and indefinitely perpetuated had it not been for still another conjuncture which we come across in the course of Indo-Aryan history. Whatever psychological tendencies the Indo-Aryans developed under the influence of their environment became cumulative in their effect in the total absence of any disintegrating forces from the outside world. The character of the Indian mental evolution is described as being absolutely unique and original, having no parallel elsewhere in the world.¹⁴ But it is also true that nowhere in the world did so superior a race as the Aryans meet with so many remarkable conjunctures. The unique and original character of the Indian civilization lies mainly in the development of extremes¹⁵ in all directions, beginnings of most of which we find in the simple Rig Vedic civilization and in that of their brethren in Europe. In part, this exaggeration was due to the development of the patho-psychological tendencies just mentioned. For an explanation of a still larger part we must look to another factor which is to be found in their complete isolation from the outside world for many centuries. After the Aryans came to India about 2500 B. C., there was no invasion of that country for a period of over twenty centuries. The Aryans in India being bent upon salvation and heavenly bliss did not develop any commercial intercourse with neighboring countries. Thus we find the Indo-Aryans gradually bringing to perfection whatever tendencies they had developed, and during the course of centuries they built the structures of their institutions so solidly that neither the Greeks, the Mohammedans, nor even the powerful bombardment of the British contact could shake them effectively. Granting the vigorous racial stock and the exhilarating influence of the geographical environment, this fact

¹⁴Macdonell, Literary History, p. 7.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 10.

of isolation has played the most prominent rôle in sealing the fate of the Indo-Aryan civilization.

Under the combined influence of these various factors—environmental and racial—was born that rigid attitude of the Indian social mind which in course of centuries has become developed into almost a “fixed idea” and which supports ungrudgingly the tyranny of the Brahmanical Law and Institutions, so ruinous to the growth of healthy national life.

How, in the absence of these unfavorable coincidences, the vigorous and intelligent Aryans would have used their boon of surplus energy is a matter about which we need not much indulge conjecture. We cannot help noticing, however, that they had, and they have today, all the equipment for the building of a progressive and prosperous economic and political civilization—daring and intelligent leaders, fertile soil, vast mineral resources¹⁶ and, in the Dravidian races, a strong and sturdy population well acclimatized to hot regions and well acquainted with the practical arts of life. On these foundations they could have built a politico-economic structure that would have resisted easily the attacks of the Greeks, the Scythians, the Arabs, the Mongols, and even of the English. To assert that under pressure of proper environment they were fully capable of achieving such results, is not a mere haphazard guess.

After the conquest or invasion from the north by Alexander the Great (327 B. C.) the eyes of the Indians were opened to the fact that there existed another world besides their own and that the people of this world were not as peaceful and humane as those of the one in which they were living. They were brought to realize therefore the necessity of a more centralized system of government and a more efficient military organization. In the developments that now followed we find the Indian princes eager to make their people more prosperous, their treasuries stronger and their militia more efficient. This period of readjustment gave birth to men like Chanakya¹⁷ in whose ideas and policies we find a close

¹⁶For even those resources of which the Aryans had taken cognizance see Zimmer, p. 49 *et seq.*

¹⁷Chanakya is reputed to have been the Finance Minister of Chandragupta, the head of perhaps the first large empire in India. He lived in the middle of the 3rd century B. C. It is said that it was through his tactics that the Dynasty was founded. His chief maxim seems to have been “Maximum of Revenue with Maximum of Prosperity.” His principles of revenue are set forth in his treatise, *Arthashastra* (Science of Wealth), parts of which are translated by Mr. Shastri and have appeared in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 34, pp. 5, 47, and 110 *et seq.* See *infra* p. 44.

parallel to the doctrines of the Mercantilists of England and France and the Cameralists of Germany. The incentive, however, came too late. The attitude of the Indian mind had become too fixed to permit of any thorough-going change and we find the Indians again falling into their sweet spiritual slumber until another shock came in the form of the Mohammedan invasion of the 11th century A. D. But this was nearly a thousand years after the last Greek and Scythian disturbances, and during that period the mould had become still more hardened.

CHAPTER III

INTERMEDIATE PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES—CONFLICT BETWEEN SPIRITUAL AND ECONOMIC VALUES—TRIUMPH OF THE FORMER AND FORMATION OF THE INDO-ARYAN SOCIAL MIND

The various environmental factors mentioned in the last chapter furnished, so to say, a hotbed for the growth of the Aryan mind. What happened to the Aryan mind in its new environment may be likened to what may happen to a vigorous seed which is induced to a forced and rapid growth. The intellect of the dominant type of the Indo-Aryan ripened rapidly and suffered a correspondingly rapid decay. Thoughts which occurred to Schopenhauer and Goethe 1800 years after Christ had already blossomed in the souls of their brethren in India as many centuries before Christ.¹ These were abnormal developments and were not suited for humanity as a whole at the time they took place. Imagine a child realizing the worthlessness of its toys or the limited powers of its mother to whom it looks for protection from all dangers. Or suppose the child learns the virtue of dignity. The greater part of the joys of its life will be lost to it. The Indo-Aryans saw the littleness of life too soon for the age in which they flourished. They developed humanistic tendencies too early in the life history of man to win recognition from the outside barbarian world, and they fell victims to their own greatness of mind. The authors of this system of thought, as we have seen before, were self-eliminated, but fortunately or unfortunately they have been most effectively survived by their ideas which have now become crystalized into a "fixed attitude" of the Indian social mind. We shall now examine more closely the process by which these developments came about.

What are the conditions of a persistent mental evolution of man? We can answer such a question at best only in a negative way, *i.e.*, we can say that certain conditions in the past have not been conducive to a healthy mental growth of man and that certain others have positively checked it. The potentiality of growth of a seed resides within the seed itself, nor can we

¹Winternitz, Morris: *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, pp. 6, 7. Also Schroeder, pp. 17, 18.

declare by merely looking at it why it grows into a tree or why it develops into a particular kind of a tree. We can say, however, somewhat more definitely that certain conditions of nourishment and climatic environment will be favorable to a healthy growth of the seed and that others will produce its premature decay. So it is in the case of man. A persistent tendency of mental evolution is his peculiar potentiality but in the past it has not always been able to assert itself despite environment. What it will do in the future we may merely guess from what has happened in the past and we are justified in concluding that the progressive potentiality of man seems to be capable of overcoming all obstacles of environment, perhaps, as Professor Bergson says, even of death.

The Aryans came to India with the potentiality of a tremendous push which had to find its expression in some form of activity. With this impetus they would have built almost any type of civilization according to the nature of their environment. They were yet a young, vigorous people, with child-like simplicity, an indefinite prospect of life, and diverse potentialities of growth. But such a condition could not continue in face of circumstances so favorable for their progress. "These interwoven personalities became incompatible in course of growth, and as each one of us can live but one life, a choice must perforce be made."² And the Indo-Aryans made their choice. It was not, however, a mere haphazard choice. All the dominant elements of their civilization we find in a nascent state in their unspecialized childhood life which they exhibit in the Rig Veda. The small, simple rites which later became transformed into complicated sacrifices lasting for years, the child-like enquiring attitude that developed itself into a speculative mood, and in fact the seed for all the tendencies that developed could be found in the Rig Veda civilization. Only, it was planted in the soil that fed unevenly the different roots of the growing tree, with the result that some of its branches bore profuse foliage and fragrant flowers while others were undernourished and decayed. The mental evolution of the Indo-Aryans was indeed unique, but, as we have said before, the uniqueness and abnormality consist in the accentuation and exaggeration of certain normal phases of human character to the detriment of certain others equally normal and necessary for the healthy growth of man. Whatever

²Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, chap. II, pp. 90-91.

tendencies the Indo-Aryans undertook to develop they tried to carry to perfection; and whatever others they neglected, they never found any occasion to attend to.

Why human beings, when they enjoy the blessings of vigor and leisure, turn to philosophy and knowledge is a metaphysical question which we do not propose to answer. We take it for granted that the pursuit of knowledge and culture is a native potentiality of humanity and that it will unfold and assert itself whenever opportunity arises. The dominant type of the Indo-Aryans who were destined to guide the stream of thought of the masses asked themselves under conditions of leisure and surplus energy a very pertinent question. What is most worth while in life, and what is most permanently valuable? Had necessity called for competition either with unkind nature or a cruel neighbor, the answer would have been different, but here was a complete freedom from the economic and political burden of life. Therefore they found their reply in the conviction of the uselessness and transitoriness of worldly surroundings and the permanent worth of heavenly bliss. By their deep meditation on life and cosmos they decided that nothing in this world was of permanent value—worldly goods were perishable, the human body full of filth and a mere link in the great chain of life that connects the individual soul with the universal soul, the home of eternal bliss, the final destination of man and of all matter living and not living. To reach that destination must be the highest goal of the ambition of every man. And one should exert oneself to the uttermost to push forward to that goal. Whatever sectarian differences existed as to the manner of reaching the goal, there was unanimous agreement on the transitoriness of human existence, the worthlessness of worldly goods, and the necessity of freedom from the misery of life and death. This is essentially a pessimistic philosophy so far as this life is concerned. If all the joys in this life are but an illusion and oftentimes stand only as an obstacle in the forward path towards the original home of bliss, what boots it whether or not one has worldly possessions and worldly honors? Was this pessimistic philosophy an outcome of the development of the pathopsychological tendencies of which we spoke a little while ago? If we look to its erotic and pessimistic phase we may be reasonably inclined to such a conclusion. What shall we say of a mind that looks only upon the drawbacks and pitfalls of human life, a

mind that broods over nothing but the decay and filth that are necessarily associated with human life?³ It is a mind that we may say is developing a philosophy suitable only to an age of decadence. If the process of evolution having pursued its full course should confront dissolution, nothing would be more correct and consoling than the pessimistic Indian philosophy that pities life and dwells on its ignorance of its inherent elements of decay. But such a philosophy, whatever may be its ultimate worth to humanity, was entirely unsuited to develop a vigorous national life.

The character of the major interests of the Indo-Aryans was thus formed and the direction of their major activities thus determined. What havoc this choice made and in what confusion of political, social and economic life it resulted we shall in course of time make clear.

An important phase of this development directing the Indo-Aryan mind to intangible goals was that the process hit principally the entrepreneur type of the community. It is well known that some of the most daring speculations in Indian philosophy

³"In this decaying body, made of bones,
Skin, tendons, membranes, muscles, blood, saliva,
Full of putrescence, and impurity.
What relish can there be for true enjoyment?
In this weak body, ever liable
To wrath, ambition, avarice, to illusion,
To fear, grief, envy, hatred, separation
From those we hold most dear, association
With those we hate; continually exposed
To hunger, thirst, disease, decrepitude,
Emaciation, growth, decline, and death,
What relish can there be for true enjoyment?
The Universe is tending to decay,
Grass, trees and animals spring up and die.
But what are they? Beings greater still than
Gods, demigods and demons, all have gone.
But what are they? For others greater still
Have passed away, vast oceans have dried,
Mountains thrown down, the polar star displaced,
The cords that bind the planets rent asunder,
The whole earth deluged with a flood of water,
Even the highest angels driven from their state;
In such a world what relish can there be
For true enjoyment? Deign to rescue us;
Thou only art our refuge, holy Lord.

.....
Living in such a world I seem to be
A frog abiding in a dried up well."

Sir Monier-Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, 3rd ed., p. 47.

Translated from the Maitrayani Upanishad of the Black
Yajur Veda.

are ascribed to the members of the military caste⁴—the true entrepreneurs of the religious-military stage of social evolution. The men whose main business it was to fight and conquer and persecute in the process of evolution were themselves persecuted by the haunting ghost of the mystery of life. They wanted to know the origin of the universe and the destiny of man. Under the influence of this reflective tendency they developed a humane spirit far excelling any to be found in the history of other national cultures. Arjuna,⁵ a brave hero, mourns the fact that he has to kill human beings in battle in order to get possession of worldly goods that were after all not a worthy goal of human endeavor. After the famous battle between the Pandavas and Kauravas we find Yudhisthira, the victor in battle and heir to the throne, disgusted at the carnage of men in that war and ashamed of the victory obtained at such a sacrifice of human life and sorrow to women and children. He wanted neither the kingdom nor the glory of the battle, but wished to retire to the woods and practice penance for his sins.⁶ To him this bloody victory at the cost of human life and sorrow was rather a source of deep humiliation than a cause for joy. How many victors in the battles of the Western world ever think of the miseries of their enemies or the sorrow of their wives and children? Manu and other sacred law givers enjoined the kings not to use poisonous weapons in battles nor practice unnecessary cruelties upon their enemies,⁷ or take undue advantage of their weak position. Such a course was unworthy of an Aryan.

The most detrimental feature, however, of this humane spirit was the development on the part of Indian princes of a suicidal attitude towards territorial aggrandizement and political consolidation.⁸ You may conquer a king, advised the Sacred Law, but do not deprive the poor fellow of his kingdom unless absolutely obliged to do so, and in that case turn over the kingdom and its management to some near relative⁹ of the conquered prince. Prior to the conquest of Alexander, to build large empires was not, therefore, an ideal goal of the Indian rajah.

⁴R. C. Dutt, *History of Civilization in Ancient India*, Vol. 1, p. 9, 2nd ed., 2 Vols., London; and cf. R. Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 57-85, Chicago, 1897.

⁵Bhagavadgita, chap. I.

⁶Çantiparva Mahabharata-Adhaya, I.

⁷Manu, VII, 90-93.

⁸*Ibid.*, VII, 211.

⁹*Ibid.*, VII, 202.

The Sacred Law moreover advised him to withhold from reckless fighting if victory was in doubt¹⁰ and to secure peace by means of treaty, tribute, or even surrender. Imagine the result of such an attitude on the part of rival kingdoms upon the political framework of India! And as the curtain rises on the political history of India, we find in consequence thousands of kingdoms and principalities existing side by side without either great friction or co-operation. Their energies were bent on the conquest of eternal bliss and their humane spirit forbade them to molest their fellow men. Imagine the inherent weakness of political life built on such an attitude!

This humanistic tendency is one of the most unique and admirable characteristics of the Indo-Aryan mind. Nowhere in the world do we find so high a regard for the feelings and convenience of others as in the India of the Indo-Aryan period. The spirit was not confined to the educated, but had permeated the very heart of the masses and had become of the essence of their character. We find its full expression in the Law of Piety of Gautama Buddha. The administration of justice was based upon this spirit and the punishment for a crime was to be severer or milder according to the ability of the criminal to bear it. The king was to be the father of his subjects and was to treat them as his children. He was to collect taxes in such a manner as not to cause them undue hardship. Even Chanakya, the Machiavelli of India, in his schemes to amass revenues and strengthen the treasury of the state enjoins upon his tax collectors that crooked means for getting funds should be used only against the wicked people¹¹ of the kingdom under the emergency of meeting unexpected situations. Whatever rapacities the Indian Rajahs practiced on their subjects in the later stages of Indo-Aryan history, it should be remembered that these occurred after the distintegrating forces from the outside world had set in and a process of readjustment to new environment had begun. There are many able scholars who are very fond of comparing the misrule and exorbitant tax systems of the native rajahs with the more virtuous administration of the British rule. But they fail to see that they are comparing the policies of one party during a period of readjustment to a policy under a settled system of

¹⁰*Ibid.*, VII, 212-214.

¹¹See Mr. Shamshastri's translation in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 34, p. 115 *et seq.*

government of another party. A fair comparison would be between the British rule in India between the years 1757 and 1857 and the administration of Indian princes during this period of condemned misrule.

Whatever the merit of the humanistic spirit as an ultimate goal of the evolution of man's character, it is sufficient for our purpose to point out here that it was developed prematurely in reference to the rest of humanity and as such was destined to bring in disastrous consequences.

The aim of life of those who were leaders in thought and action being fixed upon heavenly bliss, ways and means were developed to attain that goal. Among the developments along this line we shall now speak of sacrifices and ceremonies. There were three reasons why sacrifices were raised to such high eminence and assumed such complex forms in India. In the first place sacrifice, we must remember, is one of the oldest of human institutions—going back to the very beginnings of human history. The Soma sacrifice can be clearly traced back to the Indo-Iranian period.¹² Sacrifice had, therefore, what we may call the momentum of start. Secondly, we should recognize the importance of coincidence in the relation between sacrifice and success in war. The Indo-Aryans made it a practice to offer public sacrifices and to invoke the assistance of their gods before going to the battlefield, and their unqualified success over the first Dasyus they came across led them to believe in the thorough efficacy of the power of sacrifice to secure for them the aid of their gods. Later we find them believing that they could even compel gods to their wills by means of faultless sacrifices. The effect of such a coincidence upon the minds of as young a people as the Aryans should be kept in mind when judging of their apparently irrational belief in sacrifice and ceremony as a remedy for all evils and as an instrument of all achievements. Sir Walter Bagehot has well observed the relation of such chance coincidences to the fixed notions of a community.¹³ Third, there is a process which works in the course of the development of all human institutions and ideas and by which an insignificant beginning grows into a complex structure under the influence of changed times and environments. What I mean may be well illustrated by what happened to the Greek Dromedon rite which

¹²Professor Eggeling's translation of *Çatapatha Brahmana*, Vol. 12, of the *Sacred Books of the East*, Introduction, p. xv.

¹³*Physics and Politics*, p. 131.

in the beginning was a simple initiation ceremony. In a later period of Greek history we find that it has assumed the form of the elaborate spring festivities—Dithyramb and Olympic contests.¹⁴ What was originally meant for a simple realistic rite now gave opportunity to the Greek people to hold a festival and thus became a means for the outlet for their surplus energies. Recreation and amusement are among the principal outlets for the surplus energy of primitive peoples, and it was no wonder that an occasion for public gathering, such as the initiation ceremony, should have been transformed into a public festival. The Indian public sacrifices, over and above their religious features, had also assumed such a festive character.

After the notion was once formed that sacrifice was powerful enough to yield any object of desire it was of course used as an instrument to accumulate religious merit. The sacrifice, moreover, worked double wonders. It gave religious merit and it also gave material prosperity and in that material prosperity it gave power to perform more sacrifices.¹⁵ We can get a little idea of the powerful influence of this institution over the mind of the Indian people if we bear in mind the fact that some sacrifices such as *Rajasuya* and *Ashwamedha* grew into such complicated ceremonies that they lasted over years, and princes and nobles are known to have spent their fortunes in their proper performance. We have anecdotes of Indian princes who became beggars through having lavished their wealth as *Dakshina* upon Brahmins who performed sacrifices. These sacrifices needed the services of hundreds of skilled experts well trained in the art of building the altar fire, pronouncing the syllables of the hymn with the right accent, and attending to the thousand and one details of the ceremony; for even a slight mistake offended the gods very highly and the ceremony in that case had to be repeated all over again. In the demands of the Roman priests for the exact performance of sacrificial ceremonies we find a parallel to the sacrificial developments in India, with this difference, that in Rome the emperor controlled the sacrificers, whereas in India the sacrificers compelled the kings to obedience. The Indian sacrifice was not merely a public ceremony. The king had to have a house priest who performed the daily sacrifices for him. Daily sacrifices were prescribed also for all householders. They

¹⁴Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis*, chap. IV.

¹⁵*Ātapatha Brahmana*. Kanda I, *Adhaya VIII*, Br. I, 32-36.

had to perform numerous domestic rites and ceremonies if they wanted to live a correct life and accumulate religious credit. This, of course, everyone wanted to do. There were from forty to sixty of these rites and ceremonies that had to be performed by a householder from birth to death, some of them being repeated daily and others only periodically.

With the growing importance of sacrificial ceremonies and domestic rites of necessity arose those who could perform these functions satisfactorily in a manner acceptable to the gods, *i. e.*, without committing mistakes in details. Even in the early days of their expansion towards the east beyond the Panjab the Indo-Aryans fighting on the frontier left some amongst them to perform the sacrifices in order to insure victory in war with the non-Aryans. These men in the meantime made the ceremony more elaborate, added more recitations, and eventually claimed that none but they could offer these sacrifices in a correct fashion so as to bring the desired fruit. They claimed to be experts on such matters and made a still more presumptuous claim that none but those of their own flesh and blood¹⁶ could fill that rôle. A great controversy arose over this claim to spiritual supremacy and blood superiority.¹⁷ The claim was sustained only after a hard struggle between these experts and the fighting nobility. The vivid realism of the Aryan belief in the efficacy of sacrifice in securing success in war and attaining prosperity in peace paved the way for this epoch-making stage in the mental evolution of the Indo-Aryan people. A struggle between priesthood and nobility was not an incident peculiar to Indo-Aryan history. Similar incidents occurred in Rome, and the secularization of politics forms one of the most brilliant chapters of the history of Western nations.¹⁸ The trap which the Western kings escaped by circumstances of favorable environment the Indian princes were caught in by an opposite turn of events. Once the claim established that blood and spiritual qualifications were necessary to fit a person to offer sacrifices it was but a short step to arrange the gradations of such fitness based on heredity and degrees of spiritual purity. The concept of spiritual purity has

¹⁶For an excellent treatment of the relation between caste and race, see Baine's *Ethnology*, pp. 1-29. Also Ketker's *History of Caste*, Stuttgart, 1912.

¹⁷Zimmer, p. 196-197.

¹⁸See "Secularization of Western Politics," a doctor's dissertation by C. C. Eckhardt, presented to the Faculty of Political Science, Cornell University, 1908.

played an important rôle in the history of caste in India and has given rise to an elaborate system of observances and penances in order to insure its preservation. Only a Brahman was fit to take part in the sacrificial offering, but not every Brahman; those only who had not violated any of the rules of their profession and who had not fallen from their status of purity and spiritual elevation. The manner of living from birth till death from morning until night had been prescribed for them by the Shastras. They could eat only certain kinds of food and dress only in a certain manner. Inter-marriage with members of the military class and other castes was not absolutely forbidden, but children from such marriages formed a separate caste whose spiritual status was determined by the sacred law according to the caste of the wife. The occupations by which a Brahman could make his living were also prescribed, and while other occupations were permitted in times of distress they could be followed only at the risk of being excluded from his originally exalted status. Such Brahmans disqualified themselves as guests at certain sacrificial rites.¹⁹

The Aryans were fast enlisting the vast masses of the civilized Dravidians under their religious standard. Room had to be made for these new converts in the Aryan scheme of spiritual hierarchy. All black men, all Anaryas, were not Çudras as is sometimes believed. According to their status of wealth and political precedence they occupied different places in this scheme. The lowest and most ignorant classes formed the Çudra or working class and the captured aborigines were made domestic slaves. Whatever distinction wealth and social recognition confer on a family in the West, the same was conferred on a caste in India on account of its spiritual superiority. This competition for social recognition on the basis of spiritual superiority kept the proud groups from mixing promiscuously with one another. The later ramification of the caste system, representing differences of occupation, locality, race, and tribal affinities hinged upon this central pivot of recognition in the scheme of spiritual and social hierarchy. Those Dravidians, whose claims to be Brahmans and Kshatriyas were granted either as a matter of political expediency or in return for financial gain, became men of higher caste than the members of the Vaishya caste of the Aryan blood. Thus by caste a black

¹⁹Manu, III, 150-156.

Brahman of Madras or Bengal is higher than a Panjabi or Maratha Kshatriya, though the latter are racially superior, *i. e.*, if we insist upon ascribing racial superiority to peoples according to their affinity to the white blood. Then there were the mixed castes whose status hinged on somewhat uncertain and ill-defined caste boundaries and for them to secure a little higher status than another community of mixed type was merely a matter of asserting their superiority and gaining recognition of it from the people.

The superiority of caste, then, is not necessarily based upon superiority of race, though such may actually be the fact in many cases; the spiritual superiority of the Brahmans of Aryan blood had been emphasized from the very first.²⁰ The mixed castes by change of locality must have been constantly ascending to higher levels, but even then how is it that we find in India some traces of the black Dravidian blood in the highest of castes? My hypothesis is as follows: From a mixed marriage between a white Aryan and a black Dravidian by the Mendelian law of heredity some children must have been born with an absolutely white complexion, and as the Dravidians are a race in physiognomy of a Caucasian type, these children may have found easy entrance into the castes of Aryan blood. Manu warns us to beware of the low caste man who resembles an Aryan in appearance and tells us that the status of such a person can be easily ascertained from his occupation.²¹ Many Aryan families must have been in this manner confronted with racially differing progeny, for if either the wife or the husband was a pseudo-Aryan, they could produce a black child of Dravidian race by the process of atavism. Biological science had not then made sufficient advancement to tell the Aryans that an apparently white Aryan could bear a child of another race. Again, the spirit of humanitarianism had been constantly growing in India. This spirit had created sympathy in the Indo-Aryan mind for all living beings, and the people had already begun to look upon the entire living creation of God as one family and consequently no distinction on race grounds alone could stand.²² The only differences they could see between living beings were those of spirituality and were based upon

²⁰Baine's *Ethnology*, p. 15.

²¹Manu, X, 40.

²²The culmination of this spirit had found its expression in the Law of Piety of Buddha.

their good and bad actions in former births. It was for this reason that caste was to keep aloof from caste, a necessary precaution to retain spiritual standing. This brings us to the well-known doctrine of transmigration of souls of which I shall speak presently. I must meanwhile emphasize that the caste prejudice in India is not a color or a race prejudice. A white complexioned Brahman will more cheerfully marry an absolutely black and homely girl of his own caste than accept a fair and beautiful damsel from a lower caste, perhaps racially even superior to himself. This absence of color prejudice is one of the most valuable assets India possesses today for her future economic and political regeneration, for if we can break the caste system this absence of color prejudice will speedily lead in spite of race differences to the formation of a one-race nation out of the present racially heterogeneous population of India. It will be a pity if by contact with the civilized western nations our young men learn the charm of color prejudice. Unfortunately many young men have already begun to taste that poison and I have within my knowledge instances of our young men who have studied in the United States and who have gone back to India with intense contempt for black skin, and with the intention of accentuating the caste spirit in order to preserve the purity of the so-called Aryan blood, of which there is really very little to be found in India.^{22a}

Caste meant discrimination on a basis of spiritual standing, which came to be determined by the mere fact of birth. It seems strange that the spirited and energetic Aryan and Dravidian population should have tamely submitted to such a system of baseless distinction. We must remember, however, that the major stream of Indian thought was now bent to the exclusion of all else on obtaining heavenly bliss—worldly goods were perishable and worldly honors hollow sounds. Moreover, Brahmans alone held the key to the secret of salvation and they alone being in direct touch with the divine spirit could correctly interpret the meaning of human existence. In such an attitude of mind it was easy to fall a victim to the fatalistic doctrine of Transmigration of Souls. This doctrine declared that every man's lot in this life was determined by his actions in the past life and it was in vain for him to complain of and aspire to the benefits which others enjoyed. The best he could do was to

^{22a}See *supra*, p. 18, chap. I, note 4.

live this life correctly according to the duties prescribed for his caste and thus pave the way for a position in a higher caste in the next birth. If he was defective or poor or miserable in this life it was all the fault of his own actions in a bygone life and he could improve his future only by good actions in this life—especially by accumulating religious merit. Many devices were offered him by which he could make such accumulations and get higher up. Such a doctrine at once explained all incompatibilities in life and tended to reconcile all castes to their respective positions by birth. What could be a more inviting philosophy of life than to feel that one could not help what had happened in the past, and how consoling to feel that one could positively improve one's future by living a correct present! The easy life conditions and the lack of economic and political competition made the birth of any other doctrine unnecessary. Further, the fatalistic aspect of this doctrine well fitted the pessimistic frame of the Indo-Aryan mind. The doctrine of Karma if correctly interpreted is not very harmful. One of our most modern philosophical doctrines holds that in our present our entire past is unmistakably and unerringly stored by nature, and our only hope for improving our future lies in our conduct in the present. In the goal of life, however, the two philosophies differ. We aim at developing and unfolding the human personality, whereas the doctrine of Karma aims at accumulating religious merit and obtaining a better birth. The practical use of the new doctrine lies in the hope it gives for the life we live at present. The Karma doctrine maintains that the fate of our present life is sealed and that it is of no use trying to change it. All you can do is to make preparations for the next birth. Imagine the effect of such a view of life on the spirit of initiative of the people who came under its influence!

The hard and fast philosophy of the doctrine of Karma and the obligatory restrictions and duties of caste were not suited for the more reflective and restless souls. The complete liberty of action that comes through knowledge was their happy lot. They declared that while the caste duties, sacrificial rites, and other slow ways to go higher up towards the Universal Soul were all very well suited for the ordinary folks, there was a path extraordinary, though difficult, by which exceptional individuals could transgress all limitations of caste and ties of Karma and soar direct to the home of eternal bliss. This path was nothing

less than that of knowledge. Knowledge was the one direct way of absorbing oneself into the Universal Soul without making use of the step-ladder of birth by Karma. For Karma simply meant another life and that meant more Karma and still another life and so on in an endless chain of life and death. Knowledge alone could relieve one from the wheel of Karma. To know God is to be God, and if your qualifications can fit you to make the direct daring dash you can do nothing better than to rid yourself of all attachment to things of this life and contemplate with concentrated mind the eternal Essence until you experience it. And when you succeed the eternal joy is yours. This was an attractive ideal and worked like a charm on the minds of the more energetic and ambitious youth of India, and Indo-Aryan literature is full of evidence showing that the major attention of the best amongst the population was absorbed in solving the problems of the destiny of man and the aim of human existence. By introspective analysis these thinkers discovered desire as the source of all evil. The chain of causation was as follows. Desire brought action, action determined Karma, and Karma meant perpetual life and death. Therefore, kill desire, kill action the source of all misery, and you break the otherwise endless chain of life and death and all the misery and sorrow that go with it. How was this to be accomplished? Of course through knowledge of God. But this was not possible for all human beings. Therefore, those who were not fit for the Path of Knowledge could perform actions in this life that would give them a better birth in the next life and qualify them to undertake such adventures. Such was the dominant trend of thought of the moulders of the Indian social mind. In tune with this strain political and economic life was neglected or rather maintained merely up to a necessary minimum so as to enable them to prosecute this aim. Under the influence of this attitude towards life arose the famous systems of Indian philosophy, a very brief epitome²³ of the subject matter of which I must present here in order to acquaint the reader with the inner working of the Indian mind.

The Upanishads had concluded that the individual soul was part and parcel of the Universal Soul. Kapila, the founder of the Samkhya philosophy, objected to this doctrine

²³This Summary of the Systems of Indian Thought is based upon chap. IV of Macdonell's Literary History.

and propounded a dualistic philosophy which maintained that two things only existed without a beginning and without an end. They were matter on the one hand and an infinite plurality of souls on the other hand. The object of his writings was to explain the relation of these two primary categories. The existence of a supreme God is denied and of course evidently inadmissible in such a philosophy. The unconscious matter of nature contains within itself power of evolution, and Karma of souls determined the course of this evolution. Samkhya philosophy as propounded by Patanjali admits of a personal God who was introduced into it in order to invite popularity. This new interpretation particularly aimed to explain a new manner of experiencing God. This was the famous but much misunderstood theory of Yoga. It included bodily purification by means of bathing, breathing, fasting and other devices, control over the physical body by the practice of difficult gymnastic feats, and development of mental concentration by resort to retired places. This spirit of asceticism played quite an important rôle in India in times of Buddhism and Jainism and was in fact the main-stay of these two religions. Even today we find in India people who believe that Yoga practice confers supernatural power on man. Nyaya philosophy, another system of Indian thought, sought to attain an understanding of God by methods of logic and inference, and declared atoms to be the origin of the world. The non-dualistic Vedanta doctrine postulated that the multiplicity of phenomena in this world was mere illusion and due to innate ignorance. To know that the universal appearances are nothing but mirages to this ignorance and to experience the unity of soul and God is the true Salvation. This experience comes of course through knowledge that is revealed in Upanishads. The materialistic school of Charvaka was strictly pragmatic and refused to believe any authority save that of actual experience through perception. And as senses could perceive matter only, matter was the one reality in the universe. Soul was merely an attribute which perished with the body. Nothing existed for them that transcended the senses. Hell was earthly pain and salvation consisted in the dissolution of the body. "While life remains, let a man live happily, let him feed on ghee (clarified butter) even though he run into debt; when once the body becomes ashes how can it ever return again?"

The philosophy that has the greatest hold on the Indian mind today is represented by the more eclectic teachings of Krishna in Bhagavadgita. This discourse of Krishna, ambiguous as it appears, now emphasizing the necessity of active life, now renouncing all action and extolling knowledge, and again praising Yoga, is really an attempt to reconcile the various systems of Indian thought and various methods of obtaining salvation. The essence of this philosophy is to follow that course in life for which you are best fitted. If you must lead this worldly life for the sake of duty, perform all your commitments zealously without being too engrossed in the results of your actions. Such performance of the ordinary duties of life without an attachment to their fruit is as effective in gaining the higher stage as though you were following the higher path of knowledge and Yoga.

All these philosophical systems flourished for that one purpose—the discovery of the meaning of life and the aim of existence. The leading thought that has left a final impression on the Indian mind is represented as we just said by the teachings of Krishna. In Bhagavadgita we are urged to follow any path from the worship of idols and deities to the means of knowledge according to our ability and position by birth, but to have only one goal before our eyes and that is to approach Him.

Such were the forces under which the Indian social mind was gradually formed. The development of humanistic tendencies had made the Indian attitude very sympathetic towards all living beings, yet in these ideas of unequal spiritual purity was the birthplace of the apparently cruel caste system. The goal of their major interest in life and the direction of their major activity were now determined. It is only those who have a thorough knowledge of the psychology of the Indian mind who can appreciate the powerful force with which this charm worked upon it. The king and the beggar alike were zealous for the attainment of that one goal. The entire surplus energy of the masses as well as that of the leaders was now being used in the piling up of religious merit. This was the one basis of the unity of the heterogeneous population of India. This was the one sentiment by which the entire population could be aroused to action. It was on the strength of this sentiment that Shivaji and Nanasahib wielded their influence and retained their fol-

lowing—a flimsy basis for a political framework. Just as two thinking American citizens coming together will discuss a live political issue or talk of business conditions, or two American young ladies will comment on styles, even so we find the men and women in India of this period seriously discussing the religious merit or demerit of a particular act or ceremony. We now find a devout Indian woman offering to a deity one million flowers or leaves of a particular kind of plant, to execute which performance required the patient industry of many of her friends and relatives, as the counting had to be very exact, and in case of mistakes the merit of the offering was lost. We find a prince squandering his fortune on a sacrifice; a Yogi practicing severest austerities and mental concentration; private worship and public festivals of various deities and observances of various rules laid down by the Brahman experts, or anything else that could give the devout a little advantage in their path upward or place a little more credit to their account with Chaitanya or a little better recommendation for a birth with more powerful personality in the next life; so that they could follow the path of knowledge and at last experience that Essence of Essence, the Universal Soul, and be finally relieved from the pangs of life and birth and death and all the attendant sorrow and misery.

Such was the main stream of thought of the Indian mind, and just as the Western mind constantly worries over ways and means to meet its bills and financial responsibilities, the one overwhelming anxiety of the Indian mind was this necessity of settling its score with its deities and gods. Just as volumes could be written in merely describing the various occupations economic men engage in to secure small and large incomes, in a similar fashion innumerable methods may be mentioned that were devised by the Indian mind, from the worship of stone idols to the practice of the highest Jnana Yoga, to secure small and large spiritual gains. However absurd and irrational the spiritual merits of the idol worship, the daily bath, the abstinence from eating meat and drinking liquor, the innumerable fasts and festivities and modes of mental concentration may appear to the Western mind, to the Indian mind it was an absolutely sound logic. “As the many rivers finally enter one ocean, even so the many paths finally converge to that one goal—the Knowledge of

God.”²⁴ Such was the trend of thought of the leadership type—authors of the creative activities of a nation. The more ambitious and energetic a man was, the more zealous he became to pursue heavenly bliss by a difficult path, with the result that the best amongst them left home and worldly life and in their zeal for pursuing this wild goose chase left no progeny. The lesser type of entrepreneurs, though they did not become physically lost, became ineffective economic agents under the influence of the thought of their dead leaders.

Was it a wonder that under the influence of such an attitude towards life the political and economic activities were entirely neglected? They were maintained only up to a necessary minimum. The Chakravartin ruled the princes, but left kingdoms to their own absolute management. The princes ruled the people, but left them to themselves in the management of their villages and provincial affairs. It was not that the Indian princes allowed the village communities their self-rule because they were democratic in spirit, but it was because they did not care for centralization nor did they feel a necessity for such a procedure.

Thus rolled the main stream of Indian thought in the direction we have now outlined and it rolled in that direction without disturbance for so many centuries that finally it has become something like a “fixed idea” in the mind of a psychopath. The Indian mind was hypnotized by the charm of a spiritual goal, and all the ways and means devised for the attainment of that goal also became “fixed ideas,” in so rigorous a fashion that even a skilled physician fails to arrive at the correct diagnosis of the case and is at his wits end when he dares conceive of a remedy that will bring about a rapid cure.

²⁴This verse forms part of the Daily Prayer of Brahmans.

CHAPTER IV

IN THE FETTERS OF SACRED LAW AND CUSTOM—POWERLESSNESS OF DISINTEGRATING FORCES

If we keep in mind the main direction of the stream of Indian thought we will not be surprised to find why all other activities and forces in Indian life had to bend before this mighty monster and make way for him or at least to adjust themselves to a subordinate and useful place. We have seen that the root of all activities was declared to be desire—that produces action, which brings in Karma, the source of an everlasting chain of life and death and misery. The best course to follow would have been to renounce all desires, all actions, and to resolve oneself into Universal Soul by a rapid passage over the Path of Knowledge. But such a course was not open to all, for only a few powerful minds could follow it. Most human beings must adopt the slower path, that is, must perform actions and lead a worldly life. Now actions were of two kinds, good and bad. Good actions helped the path onward, the bad ones compelled a retreat. The Sacred Law and Custom as propounded by the Brahmans—who alone were in direct touch with the gods—professed to declare which actions were good and helped a man forward and which were sinful and obstructed his path. The life of the world was a reality to the masses which these doctors of soul culture could not ignore. The order of the householder was the only economic prop of the other orders, on which they depended for their support. Hence action was a necessity. But if action was a necessity at all the best thing would have been to perform it without an attachment to its fruit. Performance of action in this manner created no Karma and left no stain, but, says Manu, nowhere in this world do we find a desire to engage in activities without an attachment to their fruit¹ and therefore it is best that such actions should be prescribed as will bear good fruit and give religious merit. To the Indian mind the fact of the good and bad fruit of an action was a vivid reality. This is why we find the Indian mind so enslaved to Sacred Law and Custom. An Indian will undertake no activity, will form no decision that is contrary to the sanction of Shastra. Shastra determined for

¹Manu, II, 3, 4.

each man the entire range of his actions from morning till night, from birth until death. He had no choice but either to do what the Shashtra commanded or go to Hell, and no greater horror existed in Indian minds than that of going downward along the path to the horrible Hell. The duties of each caste, the manner of its worship, the occupation for its livelihood, its political, social, and moral obligations were all handed down to its members already made before they were born. The people were only too glad to get such directions. They had the satisfaction of feeling that they were doing the right thing and piling up religious merit. It was a Brahman only who could unfold the mystery of life and give them a guiding light for their correct conduct in this world and on all matters of even slightest detail in life, when in doubt, him they approached for advice. This is why the Brahman and the Brahmanical Law attained to such unparalleled eminence in India. It was the well baked attitude of the social mind which supported this hierarchy. The Indian now felt he could not get along without a Brahman. The Sacred Law² became a strong framework into which every action of every member of every caste must fit. The Sacred Law prescribed the number of daily and periodical ceremonies for each caste and explained the manner of performing them. It outlined the conduct of a student, of a householder, of an ascetic; declared what food was fit for each caste and prescribed the mode of their respective dress. Even the king's actions were hedged round by its Sacred Law. The king had to play a subordinate but useful rôle in the Brahmanical scheme of things. His main business was to grant peace to his subjects that they might perform their religious duties undisturbed. He was also to see to it that the various castes kept within the boundaries of their duties and did not get mixed. He was advised to keep his mind controlled and to pay respect to the wise Brahmans. He was offered guidance in the appointment of his ministry, in matters of taxation, and in all state business. For Vaishyas the Sacred Law writers fixed the prices and wages and manner of purchase and sale. To the judges they disclosed the proper manner of administering justice and the scale of fines. Not a soul was born for the guidance of whose activities the Sacred Law had nothing to say. Not that this law was complied with to the letter or that it was uniform wherever Indo-Aryan

²Manu, chap. VII. See also other law writers on duties of kings.

cultured dominated. It was perhaps not even written in the shape of a law book until centuries after its introduction. It existed in the atmosphere of the social mind and in the heads of the Brahmans. But its spirit had a more powerful binding force than that of an order by a modern executive with the strength of an army and navy behind it.

Whatever action a leading Brahman of a particular place prescribed as correct for the different castes tended to become the customs of that land, and it is here that we find the greatest mischief was done. Whatever custom was thus introduced in a particular territory or for a particular caste became by centuries of repetition a fixed habit with that community or caste even after the original purpose of the ruling had been totally forgotten. Such in fact is the status of the innumerable complexities of Indian customs today. They were at one time rationally accounted for by the Indian social mind. Now they have become merely habits with no logic to support them, and yet no force to uproot them. The history of a custom is much like that of a biological species. It is most unstable when it originates and it becomes more and more fixed in age with accumulation of permanent characteristics. Prohibition of inter-marriage between castes, ban on widow remarriage, prevalence of child marriage, the many ceremonies, festivals, and customs of social precedence can hardly be accounted for today by correct logic. To us they appear irrational and we feel surprised to find that they continue to exist apparently without any occasion for them. But the force of custom is more powerful than that of reason. To the former the mind yields without an effort; for a victory of the latter a struggle is imperative.

Thus arose customs and institutions in India based on an accentuated religious life which undermined the politico-economic life of the Indian people. Centuries after centuries elapsed under this regime of the Brahmanical supremacy. How very weakened it left the political and economic institutions and how in the course of time they proved to be inadequate to meet the changed conditions and failed to preserve their integrity we shall presently see. We shall first get a little idea as to how deeply ingrained they have become in the Indian mind and how they are playing the part of second nature with the people of India even today.

During the twenty or more centuries that elapsed before

the outside disintegrating forces began to come into India, time was gradually but unerringly inscribing her cumulative past upon the Indian mind and the cake of custom was slowly being baked and hardened. Today we find it very hard to break this cake. Dare an Indian social reformer suggest to an orthodox Indian even so insignificant a departure from his "settled rule" as the eating of a meal in company with a person of another caste, no matter how superior his race affiliations may be? Much less can he propose a remarriage of his widowed daughter, even though she happens to be but a child of 12 years of age. Our Indian college men may now charge me with ignorance of the change that has come about in the Indian spirit during recent years. At the same time I am aware that a Brahman who will not hesitate to eat in a Parsi or a Mohammedan restaurant will refuse to dine at the house of a Kayastha Prabhu or a Shenavi, members of castes not racially different from his own. The Indian college boy goes through a mental drill in his university career that changes little his attitude towards some of those "settled rules" of the Dharmashastra. How many Indian boys will dare marry a girl beyond their own caste in spite of their college education of which they seem to be so proud? How many parents in India will think of giving away their daughter to a boy of a lower caste no matter how superior physically and intellectually he may be to a boy of her own caste selected for her? Should a radical reformer dare transgress some of these "settled rules" he has to suffer the fate of an outcast. The Shastra says that the mixture of castes is the worst calamity that can happen to the world and moreover that it is a "settled rule." The "settled rule" of Shastra, crystallized into custom that has fed and fattened for centuries, transcends all logic and reason. Such is the tremendous adherence of the present Indian social mind to institutions that have checked progress. Eager as their leaders are for the political and economic regeneration of the country they dare not disturb the existing social order. They will attack the British government at the risk of getting imprisoned for life or show heroism in shooting perhaps a well meaning British officer at the risk of going to the gallows, but the monster "Settled Rule" they dare not even think of attacking.

Manifold as the economic and political problems of India appear on the surface—like the many branches and millions of

leaves of a great tree—their existence seems to be supported by a solid trunk grown out of strong and well-fed roots, which have by centuries of unchecked growth become deeply imbedded in the favorable soil in which they found themselves. So vigorous and well-rooted has this growth become that its uprooting appears to be an almost hopeless task to those who dare conceive of accomplishing such a feat. Fortunately with the passage of time the nature of the soil itself on which this banyan-like growth feeds is changing and the mighty monster is finding it increasingly difficult to obtain its nourishment from its wonted sources. The chances are that in the course of time it will become so weakened that it may be either uprooted by one tremendous pull of a huge appliance (representing a mental crisis) or else be allowed to starve and die a slow death.

How deeply imbedded this banyan-like growth had become even before any foreigners visited India³ is well illustrated by the failure of so powerful a personality as that of Buddha to uproot some of these suicidal notions. We are not interested in Buddha from the standpoint of his philosophy. Its essential elements are to be found in Brahmanical philosophy. Buddha tried to eradicate among many other things the differences of castes, but his teachings were in this respect an entire failure. This is even more significant in view of the fact that he did not attempt to change the main stream of the Indian thought that was deeply bent on salvation. In fact he confirmed it in that direction. He only tried to replace the old methods of achieving those results by new ones. But alas, by this time the logic of the Indian mind had already been subordinated to the "way of doing things they had fallen into." Brahmanism succeeded against Buddhism in India not because the logic of Brahmanism was any sounder than that of Buddhism, but because it fitted better into the temper and habits of the people. Buddhism was the earliest and perhaps the most powerful disintegrating force to which the Indian institutions were subjected and they stood the test and proved their inviolability most effectively. Similar was the fate of the materialistic philosophy of Charvaka; it arrived on the scene too late.

Then came the Greek invasion of Alexander the Great (327

³The earliest foreign invasion of India after the Indo-Aryan migration is recorded as having taken place in 516 B. C. The expedition was sent by the Persian King Darius under the command of Skylax of Karyanda in Karia. Herodotus, 4: 44.

B. C.) and from now on the forces of political disintegration began to come into India. Under the influence of its stimulus the powerful dynasty of Chandragupta was formed, which perhaps was the first large centralized government in India, having under its control all the territory between Himalaya and Vindhya. The finance minister of this prince was Chanakya, the author of the treatise called the *Arthashastra* (Science of Wealth). His system of administration aimed at the same efficiency in protecting state interests as the Cameralistic regime in Germany and the Mercantilists of France and England. This is very significant, as it shows the direction in which Indian institutions would have developed under pressure of proper environment. But the stimulus came too late. The Indian mind had been formed once for all. No system of government, institutions, and laws can stand long or perpetuate themselves which are not backed by the sentiments of the people. After the reign of Asoka the kingdom fell. Such was the apathy of the people towards their political and economic life that none of the future political reconstructors of India was successful. Akbar, Shivaji, and Madhji Scindya, all failed in their turn when they tried to infuse a national life into the people of India. Their only hope lay in accomplishing this through the unity of religious sentiment in the Indian mind. In trying to preserve and make use of this sentiment they were fostering those very forces which are so detrimental to the formation of a national life in India. In making use of this spirit for their purpose they were building a political structure on a flimsy foundation. This is our explanation of why these political leaders of India failed—not because they were incapable, or because they were products of a warm climate, or because they were members of a lower race, as many scholars would have us believe. It was simply a case of a hypnotized population that could not be awakened from its trance, and even today it still remains so hypnotized, at least with regard to its customs, if not to its attitude towards heavenly bliss. The only words of suggestion to which the people quickly responded were those that aroused their cherished religious sentiments. The watchword of the Moghul was Allah, of Shivaji, Harihar; and the basis of even the much heralded attempt of the rebellion of 1857 was a religious prejudice against the foreigner and not a sentiment of national pride. The thrill that goes to

the heart of an American boy at the sight of his flag or the resentment which an Englishman feels on learning of injury to the life or property of his countryman at the hands of a foreigner never disturbed the peace of the Indian mind. And as to religious sentiment serving as a basis for political unity, the enmity that exists between caste and caste in India is too well known to need any further comment.

A scholar of international reputation once asked me a question, the sense of which was: If the present fixed attitude of the Indian social mind is a result of the teachings of some of your great teachers, can you not use the same methods for its disintegration and for reconstruction along new lines, *i. e.*, will not the teachings of some great personality remove these prejudices and create in their place a new attitude? In the fate of teachings of as powerful a personality as that of Buddha, we find an effective reply to this question and a speedy dismissal of such a proposal. It must be remembered that a powerful personality scores its triumphs on the popular mind only when it is in a state of indecision. But when popular notions are fixed, such a personality simply creates antagonism and suffers a defeat as was the fate of Buddha. And much work has to be done in India before such a state of indecision can be brought about and a mental crisis effected under the leadership of a master mind.

CHAPTER V

SOCIO-POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES—BEGINNING OF EFFECTIVE DISINTEGRATION—EXPLOITATION—PROGRAM OF RECONSTRUCTION—METHODS AND MEANS

Some amongst us, who thoroughly believe in the virtues of the Brahmanical social order, or see the whole mischief in the unfavorable influence of the British rule, or expect to find a panacea for all evils in India in the economic regeneration of the country, will accuse me of having overemphasized the destructive force of Indo-Aryan institutions. We must dismiss the objections of such radicals as being unimportant for our purpose. Until now I have followed in a very general way the course of the Indo-Aryan mental evolution and indicated its disastrous as well as its beneficial consequences. Now I shall carry my analysis a little further and make the resulting problems more specific with a view to suggesting directions along which our work of reconstruction should begin, the methods that we should follow in organizing our work, and the forces we should use in carrying out our program.

In the three principal disastrous consequences which these developments wrought in the life of the people of India we find the three-fold directions along which our work of reconstruction, which has already begun, must continue with increased vigor. These three consequences are as follows:

First: Effects on Race Composition and Social Constitution.

Second: Effects on Political Organization.

Third: Effects on Economic Prosperity and Progress.

In its effect on the race composition and social constitution we find its most suicidal character. The social stratification of the Dravidians was not based upon race or spiritual superiority, but on a strict precedence of wealth and political power.¹ The Aryans themselves came to India with no caste system, and under pressure of normal economic and political competition the inevitable result of the various races coming together would have been their complete fusion into a people with a sense of close consanguineal affinity throughout the entire population—something similar to what happened to the racial stocks that went to England or what is happening to the various European

¹*Supra*, pp. 18 and 21.

races that are coming into the United States. For the Dravidians were by no means a contemptible race and the Aryans might well have been proud to make blood alliances with them. In fact, some such process had already begun. But with the Brahmanical regime came the caste system, which checked the free working of that process and prevented a complete fusion of the various race elements. Though the caste system has failed to preserve the absolute blood purity of the Aryan stock, since it was an institution not based upon race differences primarily, but on spiritual superiority, it has succeeded in retaining enough physical differences between members of castes belonging to the various races to prevent the birth of a consanguineal consciousness of kind—a necessary preliminary to the birth of a vigorous national life. The worst consequence of the caste system is, however, the social differences it has created. We have already seen that in spite of the caste system the majority of the population of India today represents a mixture of the various races that have come into the country. It is true that the Aryan highest caste and the Dravidian lowest caste taken as a whole do represent race differences. But even in the highest of Aryan castes we find the Dravidian and Mongolian blood infiltrated in all degrees of mixture. The various high-caste Marathas do not differ racially and in many individual instances in Bengal, Madras, and the Maratha country, the proud Brahman and the lowest street scavenger hardly present much difference of race. Moreover, the Indian geographical environment has put its common stamp upon all the racial stocks that inhabit it. The writer when in European dress has been frequently taken variously for a Bengali Babu, a Maratha Brahman, a Parsi, a Mohammedan, and a Spaniard, even by his own countrymen, and strange enough, he, though a native of India, belongs to no one of these castes or sects. It is not at all uncommon to find our boys in England and the United States asking each other their caste and provincial affiliation. What I aim to point out is that whereas considerable differences in physical appearance between different castes and people of different provinces can be recognized, if they are observed *en bloc*, the race mixture in spite of the caste system and the geographic environment has run its course to the extent of making judgment difficult on the racial affiliation of any particular individual. It is not uncommon in India to find, in the same high

caste family, representatives of these various races, exhibiting a gradation of color from very dark to very white and features, from pure Aryan to dominantly Mongolian or Dravidian. Most unfortunately, the caste system prevented a smooth working out of this process which had begun so well. But the checking of this process of race mixture was not the worst result of the caste system. Its effects on the social constitution were still more disastrous. The racial and cultural differences of the people of various provinces and castes of India may well be likened to the differences between the various nationalities of the Caucasian races of Europe, with perhaps this difference that in India the feeling of consanguinity is more distant, and enmity between caste and caste and province and province more acute, than is to be found amongst the various races and nationalities of Europe. To an Indian a man of another province is practically a foreigner and a member of another caste oftentimes an enemy belonging to a rival corporation.

The positive forces of the caste system and of the other religious institutions and the negative force of the neglect of political and economic life have thus accentuated consanguineal, cultural and linguistic differences among members of different castes and different provinces. It led to the formation in India of a heterogeneous mass of population—divided into over 3,000 castes or communities of interests, with multifarious differences in speech, dress, customs and traditions.

A certain feeling of consanguineal affinity, a consciousness of common culture, common tradition and common folk-lore, a similarity of manners and customs, and in fact the whole background of life which creates, should occasion require, an intimacy between the various members of a community—all these are necessary for a vivid realization of a national consciousness of kind. Is this to be found in Indian life? What is there that forms a common background of the life of a Bengali, a Maratha, a Madrasi, a Panjabi, and a Sikh, except a vague feeling of religious unity which has proved its failure to sustain a sound political and economic structure? By history, tradition, language, customs, manners and all those little and great elements that form a major content of human life, a Maratha, a Bengali, and a Madrasi are even more widely separated than they may seem to be by differences of physical appearance. A Maratha girl if married to a Bengali Babu under

the existing social order will feel about as much at home with her husband as she would were she married to an Englishman or an Arab, with whom she might feel even more at home should she have gone through a common school training with them. Her language, her manners, her mode of dress, in fact all the past contents of her life under present circumstances will make her a misfit in her new Bengali home. These are facts full of deep meaning and demand serious consideration at the hands of those of our men who are eager to serve their country. They bid us go a little slowly in our program of reform and reconstruction. The writer confesses that in spite of his education he feels more at home with a man from his own province, and even more so with a man of his own caste than with a member of any other province or caste in India. The effects of a perverted social heredity accumulated in periods of centuries has created differences between people of various provinces which must first be removed and has created gaps-between caste and caste that must be filled in before we can hope to realize our ideal of consanguineal and cultural unity. What pride can a Bengali or a Madrasi feel in the history of a Maratha who has tormented him in the past? What affinity can a Mohammedan feel with a Maratha who has been instrumental in bringing about his overthrow from power? We must therefore first create a common culture and common tradition of which all of us—the Bengali, the Maratha, the Madrasi, the Panjabi, the Sikh, the Parsi, and the Mohammedan—can be equally proud. We must first eliminate all unnecessary points of dissimilarity between caste and caste and province and province that create in us a feeling of distantness. We must develop a common system of education that will create in us a common background of life—a common culture, a common language, a certain similarity of dress and manners, and above all on the part of each one of us an intelligent appreciation of our common position in the eyes of the world and a realization of our common political and economic interests. These are the accomplishments at which we must first aim before we can aspire to realize our higher political and economic goals. (A defective social order is as poor a soil to nurture vigorous political and economic institutions as an unsatisfactory government is to foster a happy and prosperous social order.) These various phases of human life are mutually dependent on each other for

their harmonious development. The first plank of our platform of reconstruction in India is therefore to create a national life on a basis of consanguineal and cultural unity. If I may be pardoned for indulging in speculation, I can see a future India representing a complete race mixture of the three principal racial stocks in the country, speaking a common language, perhaps English; adopting a common dress, perhaps a modified European wear for the men and a modified Parsi wear for women; and subordinating the religious life to the extent of making it a matter of private judgment and not a matter of public concern as it has been thus far. This is a tremendous task, and only an Indian who has an immediate knowledge of the psychology that supports the present malformation can appreciate the burden of our problem.

In recommending the abolition of the caste system and the creation of a consanguineal consciousness of kind—an almost necessary preliminary for the birth of a national self-consciousness—I realize that I shall meet opposition from those who doubt the wisdom of mixture of the various castes and races in India, lest the so-called superior Aryan blood, which has thus far been preserved by the caste system, may disappear; and we may have eventually a dominantly Dravidian population in India, representing an average lower racial type, since the Dravidian already constitutes by far the major part of the present population of India. I, therefore, offer grounds on which we may not only dismiss such unwarranted fears of the lowering of race standard, but may hope for a still better race standard out of the mixture of the various race elements now within the country.

In the first place, the Dravidians though of dark skin are in physiognomy very similar to the Caucasian races, and the difference between the so-called Aryan castes and the Dravidian castes does not represent a wide² race separation. What is still

²Even where two so very widely separated races as the Anglo-Saxon whites and the negroes are being miscegenated, as in the Southern States of the United States, conclusive evidence is wanting to prove that the resulting progeny is either degenerate or sterile. We are even told that "the recognized leaders of the (negro) race are almost invariably persons of mixed blood" (even though it may be that) "the qualities which have made them leaders are derived certainly in part and perhaps mainly from their white ancestors." See, "Negroes in United States," an article by Walter F. Willcox in *Ency. Britan.*, 11th ed., Vol. XIX, p. 345 *et seq.* Since writing the above, I am indebted to Professor Jackson for calling my attention to an article

more important, the Dravidians of India represent a very superior race element. Their history speaks for them. Prior to the coming of the Aryans into India they had developed political systems not dissimilar to the feudal institutions of the Western European races. We find the Dravidian freeman subordinate to the raja, a sort of manorial lord, and the latter paying homage to the central chief, the whole scheme representing a strongly centralized government based upon an efficient military organization. They had a culture independent of Aryan influence. It was the Aryans who stopped their further political progress by their forceful religious teachings. The fabulous wealth of India before she was robbed was a product of the persistent industry of these people. Then we must remember that such energetic leaders as Chandragupta, Shivaji and Madhji Scindya were not men of the so-called pure Aryan blood.³ The Indian Rayat by whom the Dravidians are represented today have stood the test of centuries of adverse climatic environment and have survived a condition of anarchy and misrule for a period of over ten centuries since the first Mohammedan invasion and have proved their economic efficiency during the severe conditions of this trying period.

In the second place the mixture of the various racial stocks in India so far as it has already gone has proved a success and warrants us in further stimulating that process. It has created no degenerate hybrid products, as many scholars of ethnology would have us believe. In Bengal we have (in some families) about the best illustrations of what is likely to happen if the yellow Mongolian, the white Aryan and the dark Dravidian are mixed and the result is not one to be despised. A Bengali of this type is not only an intelligent, but a very handsome person.

In the third place, in the agile and active Maratha and Parsi, the sturdy Sikh and Mohammedan, the intelligent Bengali and the persevering and patient Madrasi we have all the ele-

by Professor H. E. Jordan of the University of Virginia, "The Mulatto to save the Negro," in the *Literary Digest*, vol. 46, p. 1373; and also *ibid.*, "Awakening of the Brahmin," p. 1383 f. Professor Jordan thinks that the half-breed is usually a better and more useful citizen than the man of pure race. "The mulatto," says Professor Jordan, "is the leaven with which to lift the negro race."

³I base this statement on the fact that both Shivaji and Madhji Scindya belonged to the Maratha Kunbi Caste, a dominantly Dravidian tribe in their present physical appearance. For low origin of Chandragupta on the mother's side, although on his father's side of the raja class, see Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 110.

ments in India for the formation of a population that will result in an unrivaled race composition for the purpose of exploiting the economic resources of our warm country. In spite of this, if there are some who still doubt the worth of the native Indian stocks, they could freely import foreign blood by intermarriage with the Europeans and the Mongolian Asiatics.

In its effect on the political life of the people of India, the Indo-Aryan culture represents its second evil influence. Prior to the coming of Aryans into India the Dravidian political evolution was proceeding along normal lines. They had developed manorial and feudal institutions not greatly dissimilar to those developed by Western races in Europe. We also find that the Aryans themselves came to India with quasi-republican institutions.⁴ The Rig Veda speaks of the nomination and election of kings and chiefs and we find that matters of public interest were discussed in assemblies⁵ somewhat similar to the folk-moots of the early settlers in Massachusetts. These splendid beginnings under Aryan influence lapsed into a state of political disassociation that left in India thousands of principalities existing side by side without either much friction or co-operation and exercising over their subjects a sort of paternal despotism. From the quasi-republican institutions of the Aryans and the centralized polity of the Dravidians to the decentralized condition of innumerable petty states was a change for which Brahmanism and the Brahmanical philosophy of life were alone responsible. This condition created in India a fertile field for political exploitation. Every student of the history of India knows well that this fact was not lost sight of by their foreign neighbors and we know how for lack of co-operation these petty kingdoms were ultimately swallowed one by one by the British conquerors eventually bringing the entire country under their control. The conquest of Alexander brought into India the very first forces of political and social disintegration.⁶ Under the influence of this stimulus and that of the succeeding Greek and Scythian invasions some progress was made in developing political organization. The famous dynasties of Chandragupta and others were formed, but the pressure being removed India again fell into her spiritual slumber.

⁴Zimmer: *Alt-indisches Leben*, pp. 172-174.

⁵Foy: *Königliche Gewalt*, chap. II.

⁶Smith, Vincent A.: *Early History of India*—is at present the most reliable work on the earlier period of Indian History, p. 102 *et seq.*

Once more we find in the Indian political history a period of quiescence from the third century to the eleventh century A. D. when the first epoch making Mohammedan invasion took place. Now began to enter into India powerful forces of disintegration and they kept continually coming until finally the British people established their powerful and stable government for the entire territory and brought in a peaceful regime. From the first Mohammedan invasion to the final achievements of the British people in India was a period of over one thousand years—a period of anarchy and misrule (with only temporary intervals of stability under Mohammedan rule) during which the people were harassed and misgoverned by their successive temporary masters who, conscious of their precarious position, robbed them as much as they could. During this period of exploitation the foreign invaders were not the only tools of molestation of the people. After these outside forces began to shake the foundations of the Indo-Aryan social order, the Indian raja as well as the Brahman became nervous as to the stability of his interests. It was during this period of demoralization, more than before, that we find the Indian raja employing extraordinary means to strengthen his treasury in order to protect his kingdom. We now find him harassing his subjects by heavy taxes and capricious rule. Political stability and peace, the basic foundations of their religious, industrial and social order, were now jeopardized and they fully realized this. The foreign invasions came as a complete surprise to them, and their belief in the efficacy of sacrifices as a means of protecting their kingdoms and furnishing a panacea for all evils was suddenly shaken. It was in short a period of readjustment.

It is not fair to compare their administration of this period with that of Englishmen in a period of settled rule. Even some of our own scholars in their effusive praise of British rule are very fond of contrasting⁷ its blessings of peace and moderate taxes with this state of maladministration. They vehemently condemn those who mourn the loss of that native misrule. Such errors are an inevitable result of a study of isolated chapters of the history of any people. These enthusiasts for the British rule fail to see that there were deeper forces than those of mere native maladministration that

⁷Of this type are studies like those of Mr. C. Hayavadan Rao, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 40, pp. 265 and 281. Also Mr. Hopkins' *India Old and New*, see chapter on Famines.

brought about the establishment of British rule in India. Thus we reconcile the two opposite descriptions of the native rule in India—the one painting it as a happy and prosperous regime and the other condemning it on account of its anarchy. These two aspects represent two different periods in the history of Indo-Aryan people and we should be cautious before we indulge in vehement condemnation of our own ancestors and in enthusiastic praise of our present rulers, or vice versa. The mean lies somewhere between these two extremes.

It was during this period of demoralization that the Brahman began to exploit his recognized superiority for financial gains. A system of spiritual hierarchy, which began in all earnestness for the betterment and salvation of humanity, degenerated into a cunning and dishonest scheme of exploitation. The king and other castes were now commanded to support the Brahman and to serve his interest in every respect. The Sanskrit literature of the later period gives us plentiful evidence for the many devices which the Brahmans under the garb of religious necessities had invented to exploit the other castes. The prince must now protect him even from the consequences of his crimes. The Vaishya must support him and the Çudra must meekly serve him. Caste now meant privilege and discrimination—privilege for the higher castes and discrimination against the lower castes. This applied in all walks of life, religious, social and political, and the Brahman as the author of this scheme reserved for himself the cream of everything. Therefore we should not condemn the Brahmanical tyranny without correctly understanding the underlying forces. A period of political readjustment is necessarily a period of anarchy, misrule, and misery and we should be thankful that it is at least temporarily ended, even though with the result that we find ourselves under a foreign rule. We badly needed the peace which England has granted us and should not much grumble at the cost at which we got it or are getting it now. We need this peaceful regime to effect thoroughgoing changes in our existing social and economic order and to make preparation for a stage of higher political reconstruction. Just at present, considering the momentous work of social reorganization before us, we need no violent political changes nor another period of political disorganization. Our main task along political lines now lies, it seems to me, in gradually getting more

political privileges that will give our ambitious young men a freer scope for the development of their higher capacities along these lines, watching the present administration and seeing to it that it does not take any steps unfavorable to the development of our social and economic platforms and bringing proper pressure upon it to enact legislation that will facilitate our work of reconstruction. Against the British administration as such, if it shows a disposition to sympathize with our programs of reconstruction and helps us in that work, we have no reason to grumble simply because it happens to be a foreign administration. But if it shows a disposition inimical towards our hopes of political independence and economic prosperity, it will not only bring a regime of discontent, but endanger its very existence, if not at the hands of its emasculated subjects, then at the hands of some foreign enemy. Fortunately, thus far England has shown no hostile disposition towards our aspirations for greater political privileges, and let us hope that with a greater knowledge of our needs and capacities she will take a more genuine interest in our affairs and grant more privileges that will enable us to exercise our higher political instincts.

In its unfavorable effects on the economic prosperity of the people of India we find the third evil consequence of the Indo-Aryan culture. In this case its influence worked both directly and indirectly. The Brahmanical law looked down on economic pursuits and extolled the virtues of the study of the Vedas and the profession of a priest. They prescribed the proper occupations for each of the four castes and for many of the mixed castes. This was only following the general direction of their mental stream. However, the will to live and enjoy life was stronger with the masses than a desire to renounce the worldly life, and under circumstances of pressure the rules as to the gaining of livelihood were freely violated. A Brahman for instance was allowed almost free scope in his economic activities when necessity called for such a departure from settled custom. The people kept up their usual toil in productive activities, though not under the leadership of capable entrepreneurs, for we know that their creative activities were so to speak atrophied, their attention being turned away from the gains of this life to the bliss of heaven. Even in the absence of powerful entrepreneurs in the field of economic activity, the Indo-Aryan regime of peace

and the easy conditions of life gave opportunities for accumulating a greater part of whatever wealth had been created by the persistent efforts of these lesser entrepreneurs and economic agents. The fabulous wealth of India was a product of the gradual savings of this period of centuries of peace. Unfortunately these riches were protected by a flimsy political fabric and it suffered the fate of a ship which sank with the very weight of gold in it. It was the fabulous wealth of India that invited to her door the ruinous foreign invasions and brought up on her a condition of anarchy and misrule extending over a period of a thousand years. And it is to the credit of the population of India that it has stood this test and survived intact for the work of future reconstruction. The Indian peasant and merchant of today are as patiently industrious and efficient as they have been at any time. Our chief work now along the line of economic reconstruction lies in the creation of an entrepreneur class that will start enterprises to exploit the natural and commercial resources of our country and, with renewed vigor, once again set the industrial wheel in motion, and of an intelligent labor class that will efficiently co-operate with these entrepreneurs in the work of production. This is the third plank of our platform of reconstruction in India.

On methods and means one can better act than speak, and what I shall say now will be merely for the sake of completing this study. After a careful analysis of the past and present of India's life one cannot help feeling the overwhelming necessity of a widespread system of elementary and secondary public education that will offer a uniform training to every child in India, giving it a common background of life with every other child in the country. An efficient and widespread system of public schools, where not only reading and writing are taught, but the pupils are encouraged in an inquiring attitude towards life and are given an intelligent understanding of their economic and political position in the eyes of the world, would constitute the best melting pot of the Indian prejudices and a birth-place of the Indian national life. Unfortunately our present educational facilities are very inadequate, especially in the most important matter of rudimentary education. The present system is very defective in that it does not reach the masses effectively. Moreover, in a country where masses are buried in ignorance a policy of *laissez faire* as regards the school at-

tendance of children is likely to be very ruinous.⁸ And we must compel each child to accept at least the benefits of reading and writing through which we can train them for a change in their present attitude and admit them into the atmosphere of our "new spirit." We see the need of normal schools for the proper training of intellectual leaders, a system of public lectures, and press campaigns under vigorous and sound leadership, and many other social and club activities that have played such important rôles in the reconstruction of other nations—all these can be counted upon to contribute to the common end.

As to the means, the most powerful single agency that stands in a position to play the title rôle in this epoch-making drama of our program is the Government of India. At the stage of evolution where India now stands a paternal despotism is essential. If the Government of India means well and has honest intentions, then in co-operation with the present administration we can bring about epoch-making changes in the existing social order in our country and speedily carry out our program of reconstruction. A favorable attitude of the government will of course make us sooner qualified to assume our own political responsibilities. But what boots it even if Great Britain is eventually totally separated from India? Is it not better for the progress of humanity as a whole that such a change should occur? Even from a more selfish point of view will not England profit more in the end by her commercial relations with a prosperous and politically independent India than from a half-starved and discontented politically subjected population? A free unfolding of the national life and an active foreign rule become mutually incompatible. But even with England's most liberal policy in matters of education and the granting of political privileges, the day for a complete separation seems so far off that let us hope that when the time comes for momentous changes in the political affairs of India the high sense of honor of the British people will again assert itself as it has done in the past and we shall be able to accomplish a silent revolution in keeping with the humanitarian stamina of our civilization.

Whether the government is sympathetic or unsympathetic, interested or uninterested, and active or inactive along the lines of our work of reconstruction, we must do our proper share.

⁸It is gratifying to note in this connection that the native state of Baroda has taken a lead in this direction and has introduced a system of free and compulsory elementary education.

Private enterprise can accomplish a great deal. The Indian National Congress should be reorganized and created into a body critical as well as constructive with a provisional government and with powers to collect voluntary assessments from the people for educational purposes and a permanent central treasury to disburse funds to the agents according to the needs of various provinces and localities. The press should undertake to educate public opinion within the country and abroad as regards the course of Indian affairs and to create an interest in the public mind in current problems. Young men from the various universities should hold annual conferences where they can become acquainted and where they can discuss questions of social reform.

We should duly appreciate and heartily co-operate with the various foreign missions that are doing so much good in our country and helping us in our work. We should have a kindly appreciation of the efforts of a foreign missionary who leaves his country and his home and consecrates his life to the betterment of humanity. In view of the work he is doing, we can tolerate the little narrowness that missionaries sometimes exhibit. When the foreign missionary christianizes the so-called untouchable classes in India he is performing a valuable service not only to our country, but to humanity. He is lightening our work of creating a national life by eliminating unnecessary dissimilarities and differences. We must frankly admit that we ourselves have shown no disposition until now to engage in this kind of work. As to his changing the religion of these lower classes he is certainly replacing a custom-ridden and ignorant attitude of mind by a more liberal faith. Moreover, in the future life of our country it is best that religion should be left to the individual as a matter of private judgment and should not be allowed to interfere in co-operative public activities.

Not only in India, but outside of our country, there are forces which we can utilize to advantage. The world as a whole stands today on a higher ethical level than ever before. By educating European and American public opinion as to the problems and needs of our country we can get much in the way of that moral support which, now that the world has become one by means of transportation and communication, is bound to play a more and more important part in guiding the conduct of political and social activities everywhere. The government of any civil-

ized country today will hesitate to pass or defeat a bill in the face of adverse comment of the international press and notes from foreign governments recording their disapproval. Even from the selfish point of view of economic gain, the interests of India, we may convince the world, are the interests of humanity at large. The limits of economic society today have no horizon, and without boundaries they embrace the entire world. Wall Street feels the pulse of economic progress in the remotest parts of the world. The wheat crop of Russia and the cotton crop of India are registered on the tickers of the Wall Street and Lombard Street exchanges and the bourses of Paris, Berlin and other important cities. The economic efficiency of the Indian Rayat and the Russian peasant is eventually to be reflected in the values of the world's markets. Is it not then a concern to humanity as a whole that the people of India should be prosperous and politically independent? Can the world as a whole make progress with misery or misconduct in its train? The work of reconstruction once completed in India, she will represent a powerful, progressive, and humanizing force and render special services in the interest of humanity. India is the only country where the dark Dravidian, the white Aryan, and the yellow Mongolian, the principal stocks of humanity, are mixed to advantage and are bound to mix still further as time goes on. Here only we find a trained and an efficient army well qualified for the exploitation of the economic resources of either warm or cold regions. It is here that we shall first see humanity *en bloc*, including all the world races in one family, and, above all, it is here that we find humanitarianism, sympathy, and peaceful disposition forming the dominant note of the character of the people. Unfortunately in their eagerness for a speedy political and economic reconstruction some of our leaders have shown a disposition to bring about the changes rapidly at the sacrifice of our past and most precious heritage. Let us hope that in our enthusiasm for reconstruction we do not lose this splendid possession of the human element in civilization which is unique with us and of which every one of us may well be proud.

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SOME ORIGINAL AND SECONDARY SOURCES FOR A
STUDY OF THE INDO-ARYAN MENTAL EVOLU-
TION AND ITS POLITICAL AND ECO-
NOMIC CONSEQUENCES.

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VITA

The author of this study, a Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu Maratha, was born at Khutal, a small country place near Bombay, India, on December 7th, 1883. His early training both in the vernacular and in English was entrusted to the care of private tutors under his parental roof. Prepared at Thana High School, a district public school, and matriculated at Bombay University in 1902.

Studied at Wilson College, Bombay, during the years 1903 and 1904. Completed undergraduate work at Cornell University for A. B. in June of 1908, which institution he had entered in October of 1905. Entered Columbia University in the Fall of 1908 and received the Degree of Master of Arts in June, 1909, under the Faculty of Political Science. Completed residence requirements for Ph. D. in June, 1910, returning to complete the work for that degree in September, 1912. At Cornell University he studied under Professors Willcox, Jenks, Fetter and Titchner. At Columbia University he attended the lectures of Professors Seligman, Clark, Seager and Giddings, and the seminars of Professors Seligman, Clark and Seager. During 1912-13 he held a Fellowship in Political Economy at Columbia University.

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